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THE

LIFE

OF

LORENZO DE' MEDICI,

CALLED

THE MAGNIFICENT.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

VOL. II.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE"
NAPOLI

BASIL:
Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.
MDCCXCIX.

CHAP. VI.

LORENZO endeavours to secure the peace of Italy—Rise of the modern idea of the balance of power—Conspiracy of Frescobaldi—Expulsion of the Turks from Otranto—The Venetians and the pope attack the duke of Ferrara—Lorenzo undertakes his defence—The Florentines and Neapolitans ravage the papal territories—The duke of Calabria defeated by Roberto Malatesta—Progress of the Venetian arms—Sixtus deserts and excommunicates his allies—Congress of Cremona — Death of Sixtus IV. — Succeeded by Giambattista Cibò, who assumes the name of Innocent VIII.—Lorenzo gains the confidence of the new pope — The Florentines attempt to recover the town of Sarzana—Capture of Pietra-Santa—Lorenzo retires to the baths of S. Filippo—The pope forms the design of possessing himself of the kingdom of Naples—Lorenzo supports the king—Prevails upon the Florentines to take a decided part—Effects a reconciliation between the king and the pope—Suppresses the insurrection at Osimo—Capture of Sarzana—Lorenzo protects the smaller states of Italy—The king of Naples infringes his treaty with the pope — Peace again restored — Review of the government of Florence—Regulations introduced by Lorenzo—Prosperity of the Florentine state — High reputation of Lorenzo—General tranquillity of Italy.

SOON after the termination of hostilities between Sixtus IV. and the republic of Florence, Lorenzo began to unfold those comprehensive plans for

ſecuring the peace of Italy on a permanent foundation, which confer the higheſt honor on his political life. Of the extenſive authority which he had obtained by his late conduct, every day afforded additional proof; and it appears to have been his intention to employ it for the wiſeſt and moſt ſalutary purpoſes. By whatever motives he was led to this great attempt, he purſued it with deep policy and unceaſing aſſiduity; and finally experienced a degree of ſucceſs equal to his warmeſt expectations.

The ſituation of Italy at this period afforded an ample field for the exerciſe of political talents. The number of independent ſtates of which it was compoſed, the inequality of their ſtrength, the ambitious views of ſome, and the ever active fears of others, kept the whole country in continual agitation and alarm. The vicinity of theſe ſtates to each other, and the narrow bounds of their reſpective dominions, required a promptitude of deciſion in caſes of diſagreement, unexampled in any ſubſequent period of modern hiſtory. Where the event of open war ſeemed doubtful, private treachery was without ſcruple reſorted to; and where that failed of ſucceſs, an appeal was again made to arms. The pontifical ſee had itſelf ſet the example of a mode of conduct that burſt aſunder all the bonds of ſociety, and operated as a convincing proof that nothing was thought unlawful which appeared to be expedient. To counterpoiſe all the jarring intereſts of theſe different governments, to reſtrain the powerful, to ſuccour

the weak, and to unite the whole in one firm body, ſo as to enable them, on the one hand, ſucceſsfully to oppoſe the formidable power of the Turks, and, on the other, to repel the incurſions of the French and the Germans, both of whom were objects of terror to the leſs warlike inhabitants of Italy, were the important ends which Lorenzo propoſed to accompliſh. The effectual defence of the Florentine dominions againſt the encroachments of their more powerful neighbours, though perhaps his chief inducement for engaging in ſo extenſive a project, appeared in the execution of it, rather as a neceſſary part of his ſyſtem, than as the principal object which he had in view. In theſe tranſactions we may trace the firſt deciſive inſtance of that political arrangement, which was more fully developed and more widely extended in the ſucceeding century, and which has ſince been denominated the balance of power. Caſual alliances, ariſing from conſanguinity, from perſonal attachment, from vicinity, or from intereſt, had indeed frequently ſubſiſted among the Italian ſtates; but theſe were only partial and temporary engagements, and rather tended to divide the country into two or more powerful parties, than to counterpoiſe the intereſts of individual governments, ſo as to produce in the reſult the general tranquillity(*a*).

(*a*) It is commonly underſtood that the idea of a ſyſtematic arrangement, for ſecuring to ſtates, within the ſame ſphere of political action, the poſſeſſion of their reſpective territories, and the continuance of exiſting rights, is of modern origin, having ariſen among the Italian ſtates in the fifteenth century. *Robertſon's Hiſt. of Cha.* V. v. i. *ſec.* 2.

But before Lorenzo engaged in these momentous undertakings, he had further personal dangers to encounter. The moderation of his conduct could neither extinguish nor allay the insatiable spirit of

But Mr. Hume has attempted to show that this system, if not theoretically understood, was at least practically adopted by the ancient states of Greece and the neighbouring governments. *Essays*, v. i. *part.* ii. *Essay* 7. In adjusting the extent to which these opinions may be adopted, there is no great difficulty. Wherever mankind have formed themselves into societies, (and history affords no instance of their being found in any other state,) the conduct of a tribe, or a nation, has been marked by a general will; and states, like individuals, have had their antipathies and predilections, their jealousies, and their fears. The powerful have endeavoured to oppress the weak, and the weak have sought refuge from the powerful in their mutual union. Notwithstanding the great degree of civilization that obtained among the Grecian states, their political conduct seems to have been directed upon no higher principle; conquests were pursued as opportunity offered, and precautions for safety were delayed till the hour of danger arrived. The preponderating mass of the Roman republic attracted into its vortex whatever was opposed to its influence; and the violent commotions of the middle ages, by which that immense body was again broken into new forms, and impelled in vague and eccentric directions, postponed to a late period the possibility of regulated action. The transactions in Italy, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, bear indeed a strong resemblance to those which took place among the Grecian states; but it was not till nearly the close of the latter century, that a system of general security and pacification was clearly developed, and precautions taken for insuring its continuance. Simple as this idea may now appear, yet it must be considered, that, before the adoption of it, the minds of men, and consequently the maxims of states, must have undergone an important change: views of aggrandizement were to be repressed; war was to be prosecuted, not for the purpose of conquest, but of security; and above all, an eye was to be found that could discern, and a mind that could comprehend so extended an object.

revenge that burnt in the breaſt of Girolamo Riario. Defeated in his ambitious projects by the ſuperior talents of Lorenzo, he once more had recourſe to his treacherous practices; and, by an intercourſe with ſome of the Florentine exiles, again found, even in Florence, the inſtruments of his purpoſe. By their inſtigation Battiſta Freſcobaldi, with only two aſſiſtants, undertook to aſſaſſinate Lorenzo in the church of the Carmeli, on the day of Aſcenſion, being the laſt day of may, 1481. This attempt was not conducted with the ſame ſecrecy as that which we have before ralated. The friends of Lorenzo were watchful for his ſafety. Freſcobaldi was ſeized, and having upon his examination diſcloſed his accomplices, was executed with them on the 6th day of the following month (*a*) The treachery of Freſcobaldi occaſioned at Florence general ſurpriſe, and was almoſt regarded as an inſtance of inſanity. He had been the conſul of the Florentine republic at Pera, and it was at his inſtance that Bandini, the murderer of Giuliano, had been delivered up by Mahomet II. Yet neither the atrociouſneſs of the crime, nor the dread of the example, deterred him from a ſimilar enterpriſe. From this circumſtance Lorenzo perceived the neceſſity of being more diligently on his guard againſt the attempts of his profligate antagoniſts; and whilſt he lamented the depravity of the times, that rendered ſuch a precaution neceſſary, he was generally ſurrounded, when he appeared in public,

(*a*) The other conſpirators were Filippo Balducci, and Amoretto, the illegitimate ſon of Guido Baldovinetti. *v. Armir. lib.* 25.

by a number of tried friends and adherents. In this reſpect he has not however eſcaped cenſure, although from a quarter where it ſhould have been ſilenced by the ſenſe of decency, if not by the feelings of gratitude. The kindneſs ſhown by him to Raffaello Maffei the brother of Antonio, who, in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, had undertaken to be the immediate inſtrument of his deſtruction, has before been noticed (*a*). In return for ſuch unmerited attention, this hiſtorian has availed himſelf of a meaſure which was rendered neceſſary by repeated inſtances of treachery, to repreſent Lorenzo as a gloomy tyrant, who ſupported his authority, and ſecured his ſafety in Florence, by the aid of a band of ruffians, and who found in muſic alone a ſolace from his anxiety (*b*). The reputation of Lorenzo is not however likely to ſuffer more from the pen of one brother, than his perſon did from the dagger of the other.

On the concluſion of the conteſt with the papal ſee, the firſt object not only of Lorenzo, but of all the Italian potentates, was the expulſion of the Turks from Otranto. For this purpoſe a league was concluded, to which the Venetians only refuſed to

(*a*) *Vol.* i. *p.* 212.

(*b*) "Poſt hæc Laurentius defunctus periculo, reſipiſcere paulatim, " majoreque poſtmodum apud ſuos cives eſſe auctoritate, ac Tyranno " propius agitare; cum ſicariis incedere, excubiis ac nunciis diligen- " tius invigilare, denique amiſſas in bello facultates undecunque " recuperare cœpit. Vir aſpectu triſti, ore truculento, ſermone " ingratus, animo factioſus, in curis agitans continuo præter unum " muſicæ ſolatium." *Raph. Volt. Com. Urb. p.* 153.

accede. Suſpicions had already been entertained that Mahomet II. had been incited to his enterpriſe by the repreſentations of that ſtate; and theſe ſuſpicions were ſtrengthened by the indifference which the Venetians manifeſted on ſo alarming an occaſion. It is however probable, that they kept aloof from the conteſt, merely for the purpoſe of availing themſelves of any opportunity of aggrandizement, which the exhauſted ſituation of the neighbouring ſtates might afford. With the powers of Italy, the kings of Aragon, of Portugal, and of Hungary united their arms. The city of Otranto was attacked by a formidable army under the command of the duke of Calabria; whilſt the united fleets of the king of Naples, the pope, and the Genoeſe were ſtationed to prevent the arrival of further aid to the beſieged. The place was however defended with great courage, and the event yet remained doubtful, when intelligence was received of the death of the emperor Mahomet II. who had eſtabliſhed the ſeat of the Turkiſh empire at Conſtantinople, and been the ſcourge of Chriſtendom for nearly half a century. Upon his death, a diſagreement aroſe between his two ſons Bajazet and Zizim; in conſequence of which, the Turkiſh troops deſtined to the relief of Otranto were recalled, and the place was left to its fate. A capitulation was concluded on the tenth day of September 1481, by which the Turks ſtipulated for a free return to their native country; but the duke of Calabria, on the ſurrender of the city, found a pretext for eluding the treaty, and retained as priſoners about fifteen hundred Turks,

whom he afterwards employed in the different wars in which he was engaged (*a*).

Whilſt the other ſtates of Italy were thus engaged in the common cauſe, the Venetians had been deviſing means for poſſeſſing themſelves of the dominions of Ercole d'Eſte, duke of Ferrara, and by the aſſiſtance of Girolamo Riario, had prevailed upon the pope to countenance their pretenſions. The duke had married the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples; an alliance, which as it contributed to his credit and independence, had given great diſſatisfaction to the Venetians. The firſt aggreſſion was the erection of a fortreſs by thoſe haughty republicans, on a part of the territory of Ferrara, which they pretended was within the limits of their own dominions. An embaſſy was immediately diſpatched by the duke to Venice, to avert, if poſſible, the hoſtile intentions of the ſenate, and to conciliate their good-will by the faireſt repreſentations, and the fulleſt profeſſions of amity. Finding his efforts ineffectual, the duke reſorted for ſuccour to the pope; but Sixtus was already apprized of the part he had to act, and whilſt he heard his ſolicitations with apparent indifference, was ſecretly preparing to join in his ruin. The motives by which Sixtus was actuated are not difficult to be diſcovered. If the family of Eſte could be deprived of their dominions, many circumſtances concurred to juſtify the pretenſions of the papal ſee to the ſovereignty of Ferrara. That city was itſelf ranked among thoſe over which the

(*a*) *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 537.

pontiffs aſſerted a ſignorial claim, which lay dormant, or was revived, as circumſtances required; and although Sixtus could not ſingly contend with the Venetians in the diviſion of the ſpoil, yet he well knew that the reſt of Italy would interpoſe, to prevent their poſſeſſing themſelves of a territory which would add ſo conſiderably to their power. In the conteſt therefore which he ſuppoſed muſt neceſſarily take place, Sixtus was not without hopes of veſting the government of Ferrara in his own family, in the perſon of Girolamo Riario, who was indefatigable in preparing for the approaching war.

In this exigency, the duke of Ferrara had two powerful reſources. One of theſe was in the ſupport which he derived from his father-in-law the king of Naples; and the other in the claims which he had upon the known juſtice of Lorenzo de' Medici. Neither of theſe diſappointed his hopes. By the interference of Lorenzo, the duke of Milan joined in the league; and the marquis of Mantua, and Giovanni Bentivoglio, alſo became auxiliaries in the cauſe. The command of the allied army was intruſted to Federigo, duke of Urbino; but the preparation and direction of the war chiefly reſted on Lorenzo de' Medici, on whoſe activity and prudence the allied powers had the moſt perfect reliance (*a*).

The firſt object of the allies was to diſcover the

(*a*) Fabroni has preſerved a letter from the duke of Urbino to Lorenzo de' Medici, which ſufficiently ſhows the confidence that was repoſed in him by the allies, and the active part which he took in preparing for the conteſt. *v. App. No.* XLIII.

intentions of the pope. No sooner had the Venetians commenced their attack on the territory of Ferrara, than a formal requeſt was made to Sixtus, to permit the duke of Calabria, with a body of Neapolitan troops, to paſs through his dominions. His refuſal ſufficiently diſcovered the motives by which he was actuated. The duke immediately entered in a hoſtile manner the territories of the church, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of Terracina, Trevi, and other places, proceeded without interruption till he arrived within forty miles of Rome. At the ſame time the Florentine troops attacked and captured Caſtello, which was reſtored to Nicolo Vitelli, its former lord. By theſe unexpected and vigorous meaſures, Sixtus, inſtead of joining the Venetians, was compelled to ſolicit their aſſiſtance for his own protection. The duke had approached ſo near to Rome, that his advanced parties daily committed hoſtilities at the very gates of the city. In this emergency, the pope had the good fortune to prevail upon Roberto Malateſta, lord of Rimini, to take upon him the command of his army. This celebrated leader, who was then in the pay of the Venetians, on obtaining their permiſſion to aſſiſt their ally, proceeded to Rome. Having there made the neceſſary arrangements, Roberto led out the papal troops, which were ſufficiently numerous, and were only in need of an able general effectually to oppoſe their enemies. The duke of Calabria, being in daily expectation of a reinforcement under the command of his brother Federigo, would gladly have avoided an engagement, but his adverſary

preſſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he was compelled either to riſque the event of a battle, or to incur the ſtill greater danger of a diſorderly retreat. This engagement, we are aſſured by Machiavelli, was the moſt obſtinate and bloody that had occurred in Italy during the ſpace of fifty years (*a*). After a ſtruggle of ſix hours, the conteſt terminated in the total defeat of the duke, who owed his liberty or his life, to the fidelity and courage of his Turkiſh followers. Having thus delivered the pope from the eminent danger that threatened him, Roberto returned to Rome to enjoy the honors of his victory; but his triumph was of ſhort duration, for a few days after his arrival he ſuddenly died, not without giving riſe to a ſuſpicion, that poiſon had been adminiſtered to him by the intervention of Girolamo Riario (*b*). This ſuſpicion received confirmation in the public opinion, by the ſubſequent conduct of Sixtus and his kinſman. No ſooner was Roberto dead, than the pope erected an equeſtrian ſtatue to his memory; and Riario proceeded with the army which Roberto had lately led to victory, to diſpoſſeſs his illegitimate

(*a*) " E fu queſta giornata combattuta con più virtù, che alcun' " altra che fuſſe ſtata fatta in cinquanta anni in Italia; perchè vi morì " tra l'una parte e l'altra più che mille uomini." *Mac. Hiſt. lib.* 8.

(*b*) Gli ſcrittori dicono che fu ſoſpetto che egli foſſe morto di veleno, & io nelle notizie private di Malateſti ritrovo, che l'autore di tanta ſcelleratezza fu creduto eſſere ſtato il conte Girolamo, nipote del papa, o per invidia, o pure con ſperanza di poter metter le mani a quello ſtato, non laſciando Ruberto figliuoli leggitimi.

Ammir, lib. 25.

ſon Pandolfo, to whom he had bequeathed his poſſeſſions, of the city of Rimini (*a*). In this attempt the eccleſiaſtical plunderers would probably have been ſucceſsful, had not the vigorous interference of Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom Pandolfo reſorted for ſuccour, and who ſent a body of Florentine troops to his ſpeedy relief, fruſtrated their profligate purpoſe. Riario then turned his arms towards Caſtello, which was courageouſly defended by Vitelli, till the Florentines once more gave him effectual aid. A ſimilar attack, and with ſimilar ſucceſs, was about the ſame time made by Sixtus on the city of Peſaro, the dominion of Conſtantino Sforza; who having firſt engaged in the league againſt the Venetians, afterwards deſerted his allies, and entered into their ſervice, and was ſuppoſed to have died of grief becauſe they had defrauded him of his ſtipulated pay (*b*).

Whilſt Sixtus was thus employed in defending his own dominions, or in attempting to ſeize upon thoſe of his neighbours, the duke of Urbino had oppoſed himſelf to the Venetian army; but not with ſufficient effect to prevent its making an alarming progreſs, and capturing ſeveral towns in the territory of Ferrara. The death of that general (*c*),

(*a*) *Mac. Hiſt. lib.* 8.

(*b*) " Conſtantinus Sforzia Piſauri princeps fidus antea Florentinis, " durante adhuc ſtipendio, defecit ad Venetos. Neque multos poſt " dies, tertiana febri correptus, mœrore ut creditur violatæ fidei, & " a Venetis pacti non ſoluti ſtipendii V. Kal. Sextilis interiit."

Fontius in Annal. ap. Fabr. ii. *p.* 235.

(*c*) The duke of Urbino and Roberto Malateſta died on the ſame day; one at Bologna, the other at Rome; each of them, although at

and the ſickneſs of the duke of Ferrara, which rendered him incapable of attending with vigor to the defence of his dominions, opened to the Venetians the fulleſt proſpect of ſucceſs. This ſudden progreſs of the republican arms was not however agreeable to the pope; who, having given no aid in the conteſt, began to be apprehenſive that he could claim no ſhare in the ſpoil, whilſt ſo conſiderable an acceſſion of power to the Venetians might ſcarcely be conſiſtent with his own ſafety. At the ſame time he perceived a ſtorm gathering againſt him from another quarter. The emperor had threatened to call together a general council of the church; a meaſure either originating with or promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici; and for the effecting of which he had diſpatched Baccio Ugolino to Baſil (*a*). Induced by theſe various conſiderations, Sixtus was at length prevailed upon to detach himſelf

the head of adverſe armies, having recommended to the other the protection of his poſſeſſions and ſurviving family: "A di 12 di "Settembre, 1482, ci fu nuove ch'il Magnifico Roberto de Rimini era "morto a Roma di fluſſo. Stimaſi fia ſtato avvelenato. El duca "d'Urbino era morto in Bologna, che era andato al ſoccorſo di "Ferrara. Morirono in un dì, e ciaſcuno di loro mandava a rac- "comandare all' altro il ſuo ſtato, e l'uno non ſeppe la morte dell' "altro." *Ex Diario Allegretti ap. Fabr. v.* ii. *p.* 245.

(*a*) Ugolino tranſmitted to Lorenzo, from time to time, a full account of his proceedings in ſeveral letters which are published by Fabroni, *in vitâ Laur. v.* ii. 227. From which it appears, that he was not without hopes of accomplishing his important object. "Non "& non domandate," ſays he, "come queſti dottori della Univerſità "leggano con fervore le ſcripture che io ho pubblicate qui in Conſilio. "Che più? Il papa è più inviſo qui che coſtì, & ſe l'Imperatore non "ce la macchia, non ſum fine ſpe di far qualcoſa."

from the Venetians, and to liſten to propoſitions for a ſeparate peace. Under the ſanction of the imperial ambaſſador, a league was concluded at Rome for five years, between the pope, the king of Naples, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the defence of the duke of Ferrara. Sixtus, having engaged in the common cauſe, was not inactive. Having firſt warned the Venetians to deſiſt from the further progreſs of the war, and finding his remonſtrances diſregarded, he ſolemnly excommunicated his late allies (*a*). The Venetians however perſiſted in their purpoſe, regardleſs of his denunciations, and having captured the town of Ficarola, laid ſiege to the city of Ferrara itſelf.

At this important juncture a congreſs was held at Cremona, for the purpoſe of conſidering on the moſt effectual means of repreſſing the growing power of the Venetians, and of ſecuring the reſt of Italy from the effects of their ambition. The perſons who aſſembled on this occaſion were Alfonzo duke of Calabria, Lodovico Sforza, Lorenzo de' Medici, Lodovico Gonzaga marquis of Mantua, the duke of Ferrara; and on the part of the pope, Girolamo Riario, and the Cardinal of Mantua, with others of inferior note. The king of France, aware of the character of Riario, adviſed Lorenzo by letter not to truſt himſelf to this interview (*b*); but the important

(*a*) *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. adnot. & monum.* ii. 234.

(*b*) Thus he addreſſes Lorenzo in a letter dated xiii. Kal. Febr. 1482, *Fabr. adnot. & mon. v.* ii. *p.* 243. "Alla Giornata di Ferrara "dove dite avere promeſſo andare, vi avrei conſigliato non andaſte "punto, ma che guardaſte bene tener ſicura voſtra perſona; perchè

conſequences

conſequences expected from it induced him to diſregard the precaution. Among other arrangements it was determined that the Milaneſe ſhould endeavour to form a diverſion by an attack on the Venetian territory, and that the duke of Calabria ſhould repair with a powerful body of troops to the relief of the duke of Ferrara. By theſe deciſive meaſures, a ſpeedy and effectual ſtop was put to the further progreſs of the Venetian arms, whilſt the allied troops over-ran the territories of Bergamo, of Breſcia, and of Verona. Finding their attempt to ſubjugate the city of Ferrara fruſtrated, and ſolicitous for the ſafety of their own dominions, the Venetians had recourſe to negotiation, and had ſufficient influence with Lodovico Sforza to prevail upon him to deſert the common cauſe. His dereliction induced the allies to accede to propoſitions for peace, which, though ſufficiently favorable to the Venetians, ſecured the duke of Ferrara from the ambition of his powerful neighbours, and repreſſed that ſpirit of encroachment which the Venetians had manifeſted, as well on this as on former occaſions.

As ſoon as the affairs of Italy were ſo adjuſted as to give the firſt indications of permanent tranquillity, Sixtus died. The coincidence of theſe events gave riſe to an opinion which was rendered in ſome degree credible by the knowledge of his

" non conoſco nè i perſonaggi nè il luogo, dove v'habbiate a trovare,
" e v'avrei mandato uno imbaſciatore di quà in voſtra excuſatione;
" nientedimanco, poichè l'avete promeſſo, me ne reporto a voi; &
" alla buona hora ſia, & a Dio. Luis."

reſtleſs diſpoſition, that his death was occaſioned by vexation at the proſpect of a general peace (*a*). Of the character of this ſucceſſor of St. Peter, we have already had ſufficient proof. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that no age has exhibited ſuch flagrant inſtances of the depravity of the Roman ſee, as the cloſe of the fifteenth century, when the profligacy of Sixtus IV. led the way, at a ſhort interval, to the ſtill more outrageous and unnatural crimes of Alexander VI. The avarice of Sixtus was equal to his ambition. He was the firſt Roman pontiff who openly expoſed to ſale the principal offices of the church; but not ſatisfied with the diſpoſal of ſuch as became vacant, he inſtituted new ones, for the avowed purpoſe of ſelling them, and thereby contrived to obtain a certain emolument from the uncertain tenure by which he held his ſee. To Sixtus IV. poſterity are alſo indebted for the inſtitution of inquiſitors of the preſs, without whoſe licence no work was ſuffered to be printed. In this indeed he gave an inſtance of his prudence; it being extremely conſiſtent, that thoſe who are conſcious of their own miſconduct ſhould endeavour to ſtifle the voice that publiſhes and perpetuates it. Even Muratori acknowledges, that this pontiff had a heavy account to make up at the tribunal of God (*b*).

(*a*) He died on the 12th of Auguſt 1484, being the fifth day after peace was proclaimed at Rome. *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 546. 549. "O perchè fuſſe il termine di ſua vita venuto, o perchè il dolore "della pace fatta, come nemica a quella l'ammazzaſſe."

(*a*) "Di groſſi conti avrà avuto queſto pontefice nel tribunale di "Dio." *Annal. v.* ix. *p.* 538.

The death of Sixtus IV. who for the ſpace of thirteen years had embroiled the ſtates of Italy in conſtant diſſenſions, was a favorable omen of the continuance of tranquillity; and the choice made by the conclave of his ſucceſſor ſeemed ſtill further to ſecure ſo deſirable an object. Giambattiſta Cibò, who obtained on this occaſion the ſuffrages of the ſacred college, was a Genoeſe by birth, though of Greek extraction. The urbanity and mildneſs of his manners formed a ſtriking contraſt to the inflexible character of his predeceſſor. From his envoys at Rome, Lorenzo became early acquainted with the diſpoſition of the new pope, who aſſumed the name of Innocent VIII. At the time of his elevation to the ſupremacy, he was about fifty-five years of age, and had ſeveral natural children. Veſpucci, the correſpondent of Lorenzo, repreſents him as a weak but well-diſpoſed man, rather formed to be directed himſelf than capable of directing others (*a*).

Lorenzo had perceived the diſadvantages under which he labored in his political tranſactions, on account of his diſſenſions with the papal ſee; and he therefore learnt with great ſatisfaction that the pope, ſoon after his elevation, had expreſſed a very favorable opinion of him, and had even avowed an intention of conſulting him on all important occurrences. The power of the other Italian potentates was bounded by the limits of their reſpective dominions; but Lorenzo was well aware that the Roman

(*a*) Many particulars reſpecting this pontiff may be found in the letter from Veſpucci to Lorenzo, extracted from the documents of Fabroni. *App. No.* XLIV.

pontiff, independent of his temporal poſſeſſions, maintained an influence that extended throughout all Chriſtendom, and which might be found of the utmoſt importance to the promotion of his views. He therefore ſedulouſly improved the occaſion which the favorable opinion of Innocent afforded him; and in a ſhort time obtained his confidence to ſuch a degree, as to be intruſted with his moſt ſecret tranſactions and moſt important concerns (*a*). This fortunate event alſo firſt opened to the Medici the dignities and emoluments of the church, and thereby led the way to that eminent degree of ſplendor and proſperity which the family afterwards experienced.

To the carrying into effect the pacific intentions of Lorenzo, ſeveral obſtacles yet remained. During the commotions in Italy, conſequent on the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, the town of Sarzana, ſituated near the boundaries of the Genoeſe and Florentine dominions, and which the Florentines had purchaſed from Lodovico Fregoſo, had been forcibly wreſted from them by Agoſtino, one of his ſons. The important conteſts in which the Florentines were engaged had for ſome time prevented them from attempting the recovery of a place, to which,

(*a*) "Affettate che ſaranno queſte voſtre coſe co' Genoveſi Lorenzo " conoſcerà che non fu mai Pontefice, che amaſſi tanto la caſa ſua " quanto io. Et avendo viſto per eſperienza, quanta ſia la fede, " integrità & prudentia ſua, io farò toſto governarmi ſecondo i ricordi " & pareri ſui." Such was the language in which Innocent addreſſed himſelf to Pier Filippo Pandolfini, the Florentine ambaſſador.

Fabroni in vitâ, v. ii. p. 263.

according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the times, they had undoubted pretenſions; but no ſooner were they relieved from the anxiety and expenſe of external war, than they bent their whole attention to this object. In order to ſecure himſelf againſt the expected attack, Agoſtino had made a formal ſurrender of the town to the republic of Genoa, under which he profeſſed to exerciſe the government. Lorenzo therefore entertained hopes, that, by the mediation of the new pope, his countrymen the Genoeſe might be induced to reſign their pretenſions; but his interference having proved ineffectual, the Florentines prepared to eſtabliſh their right by arms. The approach to Sarzana neceſſarily lay by the town of Pietra-Santa, the inhabitants of which were expected to remain neuter during the conteſt; but a detachment of Florentine troops, eſcorting a quantity of proviſions and ammunition, paſſing near that place, were attacked and plundered by the garriſon (*a*). So unequivocal a demonſtration

(*a*) Machiavelli, pleaſed in relating inſtances of that crooked policy in which he is ſuppoſed to have been himſelf an adept, informs us, that the Florentines, wanting a pretext for a rupture with the inhabitants of Pietra-Santa, directed a part of their baggage to paſs near that place, for the purpoſe of inducing the garriſon to make an attack upon it. *Hiſt. lib.* 8. And Fabroni, on what authority it is not eaſy to diſcover, expreſsly attributes this artifice to Lorenzo de' Medici, *in vitâ Laur. v.* i. *p.* 127. But Ammirato, whoſe veracity is undoubted, aſſerts that this incident took place without any premeditated deſign on the part of the Florentines, introducing his narrative with a direct cenſure of the relation of Machiavelli: "Hor " volle più toſto il caſo, che artificio alcuno, il quale và il Machi- " avelli accattando, &c." *Iſt. Fior. lib.* 25.

of hoſtility rendered it neceſſary for the Florentines, before they proceeded to the attack of Sarzana, to poſſeſs themſelves of Pietra-Santa. It was accordingly inveſted, and ſuch artillery as was then in uſe was employed to reduce the inhabitants to ſubmiſſion. The Genoeſe however found means to reinforce the garriſon, whilſt the ſickneſs of ſome of the Florentine leaders, and the inactivity of others, contributed to protract the ſiege. Diſpirited by reſiſtance, the count of Pitigliano, one of the Florentine generals, ventured even to recommend to the magiſtrates of Florence the relinquiſhment of the enterpriſe as impracticable, at leaſt, for that ſeaſon. Theſe repreſentations, inſtead of altering the purpoſe of Lorenzo, only excited him to more vigorous exertion; by his recommendation, the command of the Florentine troops was given to Bernardo del Nero, and ſoon afterwards Lorenzo joined the army in perſon. His preſence and exhortations had the moſt powerful effect on his countrymen. Within the ſpace of a few days after his arrival, the beſiegers reduced the place to ſuch extremity, that propoſals were made for a capitulation, which were acceded to by Lorenzo; and the town was received into the protection of the Florentine republic, without further moleſtation to the inhabitants (*a*).

From Pietra-Santa it was the intention of Lorenzo, notwitſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year, to have proceeded immediately to the attack of Sarzana, but the long and unhealthy

(*a*) *Ammir. Iſt. Fior. lib.* 25.

ſervice in which the army had been engaged, rendered a temporary ceſſation of hoſtilities indiſpenſible. Several of the principal commanders together with Antonio Pucci, one of the Florentine commiſſioners to the army, had fallen victims to the fatigues of the war; and Lorenzo, who labored under a chronic, and perhaps an hereditary complaint, was ſoon afterwards obliged to reſort to the baths of S. Filippo for relief. Before he recovered his health, his attention was called towards a different quarter, in which all his exertions became neceſſary to preſerve his pacific ſyſtem from total deſtruction.

This commotion originated in the turbulent deſigns of Sixtus IV. who had ſown the ſeeds of it in his lifetime, although they did not ſpring up till after his death. The Neapolitan nobility, exaſperated with the princes of the houſe of Aragon, who had endeavoured to abridge their power and independence, were prepared, whenever occaſion offered, to attempt the recovery of their rights. In reſtraining the exorbitant power of the nobles, which was equally formidable to the king and oppreſſive to the people, Ferdinand might have been juſtified by the expediency of the meaſure, and protected by the affections of his ſubjects; but, in relieving them from the exactions of others, he began to oppreſs them himſelf, and thus incautiouſly incurred that odium, which had before been excluſively beſtowed upon his nobility. The ſpirit of diſaffection that ſoon became apparent was not unobſerved by Sixtus, who, in addition to the

ambitious motives by which he was generally actuated, felt no small degree of resentment against Ferdinand, for having, without his concurrence, concluded a peace with the Florentines. A secret intercourse was carried on between the pope and the Neapolitan barons, whose resentment was ready to burst out in an open flame when Sixtus died. This event retarded, but did not defeat the execution of their purpose. No sooner was Innocent seated in the chair, than they began to renew with him the intercourse which they had carried on with his predecessor. They reminded him that the kingdom of Naples was itself a fief of the Roman see; they represented the exhausted state of the king's finances, and the aversion which he had incurred from his subjects, as well by his own severity, as by the cruelties exercised in his name by the duke of Calabria; and exhorted him to engage in an attempt, the success of which was evident, and would crown his pontificate with glory (*a*) The pacific temper of Innocent was dazzled with the splendor of such an acquisition. He encouraged the nobility to proceed in their designs, he raised a considerable army, the command of which he gave to Roberto Sanseverino; several of the principal cities of Naples openly revolted, and the standard of the pope was erected at Salerno. On the first indication of hostilities, the king had sent his son John, who had obtained the dignity of a cardinal, to Rome, for the purpose of inducing the pope to relinquish his attempt; but the death

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 51.

of the cardinal blaſted the hopes, and added to the diſtreſſes of his father (*a*). Attacked at the ſame time by foreign and domeſtic enemies, Ferdinand ſaw no ſhelter from the ſtorm, but in the authority and aſſiſtance of Lorenzo. The attachment that ſubſiſted between him and the pope was indeed known to Ferdinand; but he had himſelf ſome claims upon his kindneſs, and had reaſon to believe that he could not regard with indifference, an attempt which, if ſucceſsful, would effect a total change in the political ſtate of Italy. Lorenzo did not heſitate on the part it became him to act. No ſooner was he apprized of the dangerous ſituation of Ferdinand, than he left the baths of S. Filippo and haſtened to Florence, where, on his firſt interview with the envoy of the king, he gave him the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of active interference and ſupport. Lorenzo however ſaw the neceſſity of applying an effectual remedy to the increaſing evil, and with a degree of freedom which the urgency of the occaſion required, entreated the king to relax in his ſeverity towards his ſubjects. "It grieves me to the ſoul," thus he writes to Albino the Neapolitan envoy, "that the "duke of Calabria ſhould have acquired, even "undeſervedly, the imputation of cruelty. At all "events he ought to endeavour to remove every "pretext for the accuſation, by the moſt cautious

(*a*) His death was attributed to poiſon, given to him by Antonello Sanſeverino, prince of Salerno. *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 542. The frequency of theſe imputations, though perhaps not always founded on fact, ſtrongly mark the character of the age.

" regard to his conduct. If the people be diſpleaſed " with the late impoſitions, it would be adviſable " to aboliſh them, and to require only the uſual " payments; for one *carlino* obtained with good- " will and affection, is better than ten accom- " panied with diſſatisfaction and reſentment." He afterwards remonſtrates with the king, through the ſame channel, on his harſh and imprudent conduct to ſome merchants, who it appears had been diſmiſſed from Naples, for having demanded from him the monies which they had advanced for his uſe. " If the king ſatisfy them not," ſays he, " by paying their demands, he ought at leaſt to " appeaſe them by good words; to the end that " he may not afford them an opportunity of treating " his name with diſreſpect, and of gaining credit " at the ſame time to what is, and to what is " not true." The reply of Ferdinand to Albino is ſufficiently expreſſive of the reſpect which he paid to theſe admonitions (*a*); but unfortunately, the precepts which he approved in theory, he forgot to adopt in his practice; and to the neglect of theſe counſels, rather than to the courage or the conduct of Charles VIII. the ſubſequent expulſion of his family from the kingdom of Naples is unqueſtionably to be referred.

The authority of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence

(*a*) In reference to this letter of Lorenzo, which may be found in the Appendix, No. XLV. The king replies to Albino, " Lo con- " figlio de detto Mag. Lorenzo, che abbiamo li occhi ad tutto, e " moſtramo in alcuna coſa non intendere, &c. ci è ſtato gratiſſimo; " per eſſere prudentiſſimo e ſapientiſſimo."

was not the authority of deſpotiſm, but that of reaſon; and it therefore became neceſſary, that the meaſures which he might adopt ſhould meet with the approbation of the citizens at large. He accordingly, without delay, called together the principal inhabitants, but had the mortification to find that the propoſition which he laid before them, to afford aſſiſtance to the king, was received by his hearers with general diſapprobation; ſome exclaiming againſt him, as being too precipitate in involving the republic in dangerous and expenſive wars; whilſt others condemned the freedom with which he oppoſed the Roman pontiff, and ſubjected himſelf and his fellow-citizens to thoſe eccleſiaſtical cenſures, the ill effects of which they had ſo recently experienced. On this occaſion, Lorenzo was reminded, that the Venetians would probably unite with the pope in ſubjugating the kingdom of Naples; in which caſe, the intervention of the Florentines would only involve them in the ſame ruin that threatened the Neapolitan ſtate. The ſolicitations and remonſtrances of his fellow-citizens ſhook not the purpoſe of Lorenzo. Through the thick miſt of popular fears and prejudices, he diſtinctly ſaw the beacon of the public welfare; and the arguments of his adverſaries had already been anticipated and refuted in his own mind. That eloquence which he poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree was never more ſucceſsfully exerted; and the reaſons that had determined his own judgment were laid before his audience in a manner ſo impreſſive, as to overpower all oppoſition, and

induce them unanimouſly to concur in his opinion. "This oration," ſays Valori, "as committted to "writing by ſome of his hearers, I have myſelf "peruſed; and it is not poſſible to conceive any "compoſition more copious, more elegant, or "more convincing (*a*)."

The ſituation of Ferdinand became every day more critical. A general defection of his nobility took place. The two brothers of the family of the Coppula, one of whom was his prime counſellor, and the other the treaſurer of the kingdom, held a treacherous correſpondence with his enemies; and the duke of Calabria, who had advanced towards Rome to prevent a junction of the pontifical troops with thoſe of the inſurgents, was totally defeated by Sanſeverino, and obliged to fly for protection into the territories of Florence. It was matter of gratification to ſome, and of ſurpriſe to all, that the very man, who, by his ſanguinary and tyrannical diſpoſition, had a ſhort time before ſpread terror through the whole extent of Tuſcany, ſhould now appear as a fugitive at Montepulciano, imploring the aſſiſtance of the Florentines, and waiting the arrival of Lorenzo de' Medici; who, being prevented by ſickneſs from complying with his expectations, diſpatched two of the principal citizens to aſſure the duke of the attachment of the Florentines to the houſe of Aragon, and of their determination to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in its defence.

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p. 53.*

The military force of the republic, which ſeldom exceeded five thouſand men, would have rendered ſmall ſervice in the conteſt, and it therefore became neceſſary to reſort to other expedients. By the pecuniary aſſiſtance of the Florentines, the duke of Calabria was again enabled to take the field, and at their inſtance ſeveral eminent leaders of Italy engaged in the ſervice of the king. The influence that Lorenzo poſſeſſed with Lodovico Sforza was ſucceſsfully exerted to engage the ſtates of Milan in the ſame cauſe. The powerful Roman family of the Orſini was induced not only to diſcountenance the enterpriſe of the pope, but to appear openly in arms againſt him; and Innocent began to dread that the conflagration which he had excited, or encouraged, in the kingdom of Naples, might extend to his own dominions. At the ſame time Lorenzo de' Medici, having ſtill maintained an uninterrupted intercourſe with the pope, aſſailed him with thoſe arguments which he knew were beſt calculated to produce their effect. He repreſented the evils and diſgrace that muſt ariſe to all Chriſtendom, from the frequent example ſet by the head of the church, of appealing on all occaſions to the ſword. He pointed out the improbability that the northern powers of Italy would permit the Roman ſee to annex to its dominions, either directly or indirectly, ſo extenſive a territory as the kingdom of Naples; and earneſtly exhorted the pope not to waſte his reſources, diſturb his tranquillity, and endanger his ſafety, in a conflict which, at beſt, could only terminate in ſubſtituting to the houſe of Aragon ſome of thoſe

fortunate adventurers who had led the armies employed in its expulsion. Whether the appearances of hostility operated on the fears, or the reasoning of Lorenzo on the judgment of the pope, may remain in doubt; but the ardor with which he engaged in the conflict gradually abated, and Sanseverino was left to avail himself of his own courage, and that of the troops under his command, without receiving either orders to retire, or supplies to enable him to proceed. The languor that became apparent between the contending sovereigns seemed to have communicated itself to their armies; which having met on the eighth day of May 1486, an encounter took place, in which Ammirato not only acknowledges; that not a soldier was slain, but that he had found no memorial that even one of the combatants was wounded, though the contest continued for many hours, and only terminated with the day (*a*). In this harmless trial of muscular strength, Sanseverino and his followers were however forced off the field, and the consequences were as decisive as if the contest had been of the most sanguinary kind; for the king, availing himself of this circumstance, and apprized by Lorenzo of the favorable alteration in the temper of the pope, lost no time in laying before him such propositions for the accommodation of their dispute, as afforded him an opportunity of declining it with

(*a*) Ecco che nel volersi movere, si venne l'ottavo giorno di maggio al fatto d'arme; se merita di fatto d'arme haver nome una giornata, nella quale non che fosse alcun morto, ma non si fa memoria, che fosse alcun ferito. *Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib.* 25. *p.* 174.

credit to himſelf, and apparent ſafety to his Neapolitan confederates. By the conditions of this treaty, the king acknowledged the juriſdiction of the apoſtolic ſee, and agreed to pay to the pope a ſtipulated ſubſidy. Beſides which, he engaged to pardon, freely and unconditionally, the nobles who had revolted againſt him.

The oppreſſive conduct of the Italian ſovereigns, or the reſtleſs diſpoſition of their ſubjects, ſeldom admitted of a long continuance of tranquillity; and as Lorenzo had acquired a reputation for impartiality and moderation, the diſſenſions that occaſionally aroſe were generally ſubmitted to his deciſion. The political contentions in which the pope was engaged, diſplayed indeed an ample field for the exerciſe of his talents. Important as the favor of the Roman ſee might be to the ſucceſs of his labors, it was not preſerved without an unremitting attention to its intereſts. In the year 1486, Buccolino Guzzoni, a citizen of Oſimo, a part of the papal territories, incited the inhabitants to revolt. The cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II. was diſpatched by the pope to reduce the place to obedience; but threats and entreaties were alike ineffectual, and the inhabitants avowed their reſolution to ſurrender the city to the Turks, rather than again ſubmit to the authority of the pope. From the ſucceſs of the inſurgents, the example began to ſpread through the adjoining diſtricts; when Lorenzo diſpatched Gentile, biſhop of Arezzo, with inſtructions to treat with Buccolino for a reconciliation. What the obſtinacy of Buccolino

had refuſed to the repreſentations of the pope, was conceded to thoſe of Lorenzo, under whoſe ſanction the terms of the treaty were ſpeedily concluded, and Buccolino accompanied the ambaſſador of Lorenzo to Florence. Muratori informs us, that the artifice by which Lorenzo extricated the pope from his turbulent adverſary, was the timely application of ſome thouſands of golden ducats; and this he accompanies with an inſinuation, which, if juſtly founded, would degrade the magnanimous character of Lorenzo to a level with that of his ſanguinary and treacherous contemporaries. "Having invited Buccolino to Florence," ſays that "author, Lorenzo, with great addreſs, prevailed "upon him, for his further ſecurity, to repair to "Milan; but the ſecurity that he there found was "a halter from the hands of Lodovico Sforza (*a*)." If, however, the death of Buccolino, when the contention was over, was of ſuch importance as to induce Lorenzo to the commiſſion of ſo atrocious a crime, it is ſcarcely probable that he would have afforded his victim ſo favorable an opportunity of eſcaping the blow; but without having recourſe to conjecture, a refutation of this calumny may be found in an author, who, not being conſidered as partial to the Medici, may on this occaſion be admitted as an authentic witneſs. "After the "ſurrender of Oſimo," ſays Machiavelli, "Buccolino "reſided a conſiderable time at Florence, under "the ſafeguad of Lorenzo, honored and reſpected. "He afterwards went to Milan, where he did not

(*a*) *Murat. Ann. t. ix. p. 554. cit. Raynal. Annal. Eccles.*

"experience

" experience the ſame fidelity, having been " treacherouſly put to death there by Lodovico " Sforza (*a*)."

The remonſtrances of the Florentines to the Genoeſe to relinquiſh the dominion of Sarzana, being yet diſregarded, and the peaceable intervention of the pope and the duke of Milan appearing to be ineffectual, Lorenzo prepared for a powerful attack; and not only engaged the lords of Piombino, Faenza, Pitigliano, and Bologna in his cauſe, but applied to the king of Naples for ſuch aſſiſtance as he could afford. In his anſwer to this requiſition, Ferdinand confeſſes high obligations to Lorenzo, and after lamenting his inability to repay them in a manner adequate to their importance, promiſes to furniſh a ſupply of ſhips againſt the Genoeſe, and to give ſuch other aid as the embarraſſed ſtate of his affairs would permit (*b*). The command of the army, deſtined to the attack of Sarzana, was given to Jacopo Guicciardini, and Pietro Vittorio, who, having defeated a body of the Genoeſe that oppoſed their progreſs, began the ſiege of the place. The reſiſtance which they met with was however more obſtinate than might have been expected. Impatient of the delay, Lorenzo reſolved to join the army, and endeavour by his preſence to promote the exertions of the commanders, and excite the ardor of the ſoldiery. His exhortations, addreſſed perſonally to every rank and denomination, produced an inſtantaneous effect: a vigorous attack was made;

(*a*) *Mac. lib.* 8.
(*b*) *v. App. No.* XLVI.

and the citizens, perceiving no proſpect of further ſuccour from the Genoeſe, ſurrendered at the diſcretion of the conquerors. It is not improbable, that the remembrance of the diſaſter which took place on the ſurrender of Volterra, had operated as an additional motive with Lorenzo to be preſent at the capture of Sarzana; however this may be, his conduct was marked with the greateſt clemency to the inhabitants, and the city was received into the protection of the Florentine ſtate, to which it was only deſirable, as oppoſing a barrier to the incurſions of the Genoeſe. Elated with conqueſt, the Florentine commanders wiſhed to carry the war into the ſtates of Genoa; but Lorenzo oppoſed himſelf to this deſign; juſtly conceiving it to be inconſiſtent with the intereſts of his country and his own character to deſtroy that general equilibrium of the Italian ſtates, which his utmoſt endeavours were conſtantly exerted to maintain. The apprehenſions entertained by the Genoeſe were productive however of conſequences as unfavorable to their liberties, as any which they could have experienced from a hoſtile invaſion. To ſecure themſelves from the expected attack, they ſurrendered their ſtates to the duke of Milan, probably with the intention of again aſſerting their independence as ſoon as they had an opportunity; an artifice to which they had frequently reſorted on former occaſions (*a*).

In the conduct of Lorenzo towards the ſmaller governments in the vicinity of Florence, he gave

(*a*) *Murat. Annal.* v. ix. *p.* 555.

a ſtriking inſtance of prudence and moderation. Inſtead of ſeeking for pretences to ſubjugate them, he, upon all occaſions, afforded them the moſt effectual aid in reſiſting every effort to deprive them of their independence. In his eſtimation, theſe were the true barriers of the Tuſcan territory. By the conſtant intercourſe which he maintained with the ſubordinate ſovereigns, and the chief nobility of Italy, he was enabled to perceive the firſt indications of diſagreement, and to extinguiſh the ſparks before they had kindled into a flame. The city of Perugia was held by the Baglioni, Caſtello by the Vitelli, Bologna by the Bentivoli, and Faenza by the Manfredi; all of whom reſorted to him as the umpire of their frequent diſſenſions, and their protector from the reſentment, or the rapacity, of their more powerful neighbours. Innumerable occaſions preſented themſelves, in which the Florentines might have extended the limits of their dominions, but it was uniformly the policy of Lorenzo, rather to ſecure what the ſtate already poſſeſſed, than, by aiming at more extenſive territory, to endanger the whole; and ſo fully did he accompliſh his purpoſe, that the acute, but profligate Lodovico Sforza, was accuſtomed to ſay, "*That Lorenzo had converted into iron what he* "*found fabricated of glaſs* (*a*)." The views of Lorenzo were not however limited by the boundaries that divide Italy from the reſt of Europe. The influence of other ſtates upon the politics of that country was daily increaſing. He had therefore,

(*a*) *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. vol. i. p.* 181.

at almoſt every court, envoys and correſpondents, on whoſe talents and integrity he had the greateſt reliance; and who gave him minute and early information of every circumſtance that might affect the general tranquillity. By theſe men, he heard, he ſaw, he felt, every motion and every change of the political machine, and was often enabled to give it an impulſe where it was ſuppoſed to be far beyond the limits of his power. In conducting a negotiation, all circumſtances ſeemed to concur in rendering him ſucceſsful; but theſe were not the effects of chance, but of deep and premeditated arrangement. Knowing the route he had to take, the obſtacles that might have obſtructed his progreſs were cautiouſly removed, before his opponents were apprized of his intentions. Hence, as one of the Florentine annaliſts expreſſes it (*a*), he became the balance point of the Italian potentates, whoſe affairs he kept in ſuch juſt equilibrium as to prevent the preponderancy of any particular ſtate. Surrounded as he was by ambitious deſpots, who knew no reſtraint except that of compulſion, or by reſtleſs communities conſtantly ſpringing up with elaſtic

(*a*) " Era venuto Lorenzo in tanta riputazione e autorità appreſſo " gli altri principi d'Italia, &c, che tutti gli Scrittori di que' tempi, " e le memorie ancora degli uomini, che vivono, e che ſono vivuti " a tempi noſtri unitamente s'accordano, che, mentre ch'egli viſſe " fu ſempre l'ago della bilancia tra' principi predetti, che mantenne " bilanciati gli ſtati loro, e di tal maniera gli tenne uniti, e ciaſcuno " di eſſi riſtretti dentro a' termini de' loro confini, che ſi potette dipoi, " dopo la ſua morte, vedere queſta verità detta di ſopra," &c.
Filip. de' Nerli, Comment. de' Fatti civili di Fir. lib. 3. Ed. Ven. 1728.

vigor againſt the hand that preſſed them; it was only by unwearied attention that he could curb the overbearing, relieve the oppreſſed, allay their mutual jealouſy, and preſerve them from perpetual contention. By inducing them to graſp at unſubſtantial advantages, he placed in their hands real bleſſings; and by alarming them with imaginary terrors, averted their ſteps from impending deſtruction.

We have already ſeen, that by the terms of the treaty between the pope and the king of Naples, Ferdinand was to pay an annual ſubſidy to the Roman ſee, and was alſo to grant an unconditional pardon to his refractory nobles. The latter of theſe conditions he immediately broke, and the other he only adhered to as long as he conceived that the pope was able to compel its performance. The cruelty and perfidy ſhown by Ferdinand in his treatment of the Neapolitan nobility, fixes an indelible ſtain upon his character; but the operations of the moral world are not leſs certain than thoſe of the natural, and the treachery of Ferdinand brought forth in due time its fruits of bitterneſs. It is true indeed, as Muratori well obſerves, "God "does not always repay in this world, nor are his "judgments laid open to us; but if we may on "any occaſion be allowed to interpret them, it is "when they ſeem to be the retribution of cruelty. "In fact, the calamities of Ferdinand were not "long poſtponed. The lapſe of a few years de-"prived him of life, and his poſterity of the "kingdom of Naples. Surely, he can never be

" worthy to rule over a people, who knows not " how to forgive (*a*)."

The refusal of Ferdinand to comply with his engagements, again roused the resentment of the pope the inadequacy of whose temporal arms to enforce his pretensions, was supplied by the spiritual terrors of excommunication. On this occasion, the intervention of Lorenzo de' Medici again became necessary. A long negotiation ensued, in the progress of which he availed himself of every opportunity afforded him by the circumstances of the times, the temper of the parties, and his own credit and authority, to prevent the disagreement from proceeding to an open rupture. Of his letters written in the course of these transactions, some are yet preserved, which, whilst they display the refined policy and deep discernment of their author, demonstrate how assiduously he labored to avert the calamities of war. " It appears to me," says he writing to Lanfredini his confidential envoy at Rome, who was to lay these representations before the pope, " that his holiness must propose to himself " one of these three things; either to compel the " king by force to comply with his requisition; " or to compromise matters with him on the most " advantageous terms that can be obtained; or, " lastly to temporize till something better may be " effected." He then enters into a full discussion of the difficulties and dangers that seem likely to

(*a*) " Certo non sarà giammai degno di reggere popoli, chi non " sa mai perdonare." *Murat. Ann. v.* ix. *p.* 556.

attend the making an hoſtile attack on the kingdom of Naples. He lays before the pope the ſituation not only of the other ſtates of Italy, but of Europe; and ſhows the indeſpenſible neceſſity of entering into treaties for aſſiſtance, or neutrality, before he engages in ſo hazardous an attempt. Having thus endeavoured to deter the pope from adopting any violent and unadviſed meaſures, he adverts to the probability of terminating their differences by negotiation; the opportunity for which, however, he thinks as yet crude and immature, and as likely to be ſtill further delayed by any ſevere or incautious proceedings. "With reſpect to temporizing," ſays he, "this is undoubtedly the only courſe to be "purſued, becauſe it is better beyond compariſon "to let matters remain in their preſent ſtate, with "reputation to his holineſs, than to riſk a war; "eſpecially as the king has it in his power to do "him eſſential injury." He concludes with a a recapitulation of his former opinions. "If the "pope can accommodate matters with the king, "conſiſtently with his own honor, it ſeems to me "that a tolerable compromiſe is better than a "ſucceſsful war. But as difficulties preſent them-"ſelves to an immediate agreement, I would "endeavour to protract the diſcuſſion as long as "it might be done with ſafety and propriety; all "that I have advanced is however upon the idea "that the pope is not prepared to carry his point "by force, for if that were the caſe, the king would "ſoon ſubmit; but I fear he is too well apprized "how far he is liable to be injured, and on this

" account will be more obſtinate (*a*)." By repreſentations of this nature, founded on inconteſtable facts, and inforced by unanſwerable arguments, Lorenzo at length ſo far mitigated the anger, or abated the confidence of the pope, as to diſpoſe him to liſten to propoſitions of accommodation; whilſt, through the medium of his ambaſſador at Naples, he prevailed on the king to aſſent to the payment of the ſame ſubſidy which his predeceſſors had paid to the holy ſee. It is not eaſy to ſay to which of the contending parties the conduct of Lorenzo was moſt acceptable; the pope omitted no ſubſequent opportunity of conferring on him and his family the moſt important favors; whilſt Ferdinand unequivocally acknowledged, that to his friendſhip and fidelity, he and his family were indebted, not only for the rank they held, but even for their continuance in the kingdom of Naples (*b*).

The external concerns of the republic being happily adjuſted, and the tranquillity of Italy ſecured, Lorenzo applied himſelf to the regulation of the internal diſcipline of the Florentine ſtate. The government of this city was founded on the broadeſt baſis of democratic equality. By its

(*a*) For this letter, *v. App. No.* XLVII.

(*b*) Ferdinand thus addreſſed himſelf to Antonio della Valle, one of the agents of Lorenzo at Naples: " Lorenzo ha provato, che " veramente ho amato lui & quella città; ed io ho avuto a provare, " che ha amato me, e i miei figliuoli, che ſenza lui, nè io nè loro " ſaremmo in queſto regno, il quale beneficio noi nè i noſtri diſ- " cendenti mai ſi hanno a ſcordare." *Pet. Lutetii Ep. ad Laur. Fab. v.* ii. *p.* 369. Theſe obligations are alſo warmly acknowledged by Ferdinand in a letter to Lorenzo himſelf. *v. App. No.* XLVIII

fundamental principles, every perſon who contributed by his induſtry to the ſupport or aggrandizement of the ſtate, had a right to ſhare in the direction of it; either by delegating his power to others, or in exerciſing a portion of the ſupreme control, under the ſuffrages of his fellow-citizens. Inactivity was the only circumſtance that incapacitated him from the enjoyment of political rights. The Florentines, as early as the year 1282, had claſſed themſelves into diſtinct bodies, or municipal companies, according to their various profeſſions; and in order to place their government on a truly popular foundation, had determined, that no perſon ſhould be eligible to a public office, unleſs he were either actually, or profeſſedly, a member of one or other of theſe companies. By this regulation, the nobility were either excluded from the offices of the ſtate, or, in order to obtain them, were obliged to degrade the honors of their rank, by the humiliating appellation of artiſan (*a*). From theſe aſſociated bodies, a certain number of members were deputed to exerciſe the ſupreme government, in conjunction with an officer, whom we have frequently mentioned by the name of

(*a*) Et ſopra tutto parve, che ſi haveſſe havuto riguardo à fondar uno ſtato affatto popolare, non volendo che fuſſono ricevute al governo perſone, che non fuſſero compreſe ſotto il nome, e inſegna d'alcuna arte; eziandio che quelle arti non eſercitaſſero, perciocchè ſi come non ſtimavano coſa conveniente il levar in tutto il governo di mano de' nobili, così giudicavano eſſer neceſſario, che almeno col nome che prendevano, deponeſſero parte dell' alterigia che porgea loro quella boriosa voce della nobiltà. *Ammir. Iſt. lib.* iii. *v.* i. *p.* 160.

Gonfaloniere, whoſe authority was however ſubordinate to that of the delegated mechanics, or *Priori delle arti*, who continued in office only two months, and from three in number, had increaſed, at various intervals, to ſix, to eight, and laſtly to ten (*a*). This inſtitution had, in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, ſubſiſted nearly two hundred years, during which the office of Gonfaloniere had been filled by a regular ſucceſſion of twelve hundred citizens, who had preſerved the dignity and independence of the republic, and ſecured to their countrymen the exerciſe of their rights. With this laudable jealouſy of their own liberties, the Florentines did not, like the Romans, from whom they derived their origin, exert their power to deſtroy the liberties

(*a*) The jealous temper of the Florentines in providing for the ſecurity of their liberties, is exquiſitely ſatirized by their firſt poet:

Or ti fa lieta, che tu hai ben onde,
Tu ricca, tu con pace, tu con ſenno;
S'i' dico 'l ver, l' effetto nol naſconde
Atene, e Lacedemona, che fenno
L'antiche leggi, e furon sì civili,
Fecero al viver bene un picciol ſenno
Verſo di te, che fai tanto ſottili
Provvedimenti, ch'a mezzo Novembre
Non giunge quel, che tu d'Ottobre fili.
Quante volte del tempo, che rimembre
Legge, moneta, e uficio, e coſtume,
Ha' tu mutato, e rinnovato membre?
E ſe ben ti ricorda, e vedi lume,
Vedrai te ſimigliante a quell' infirma,
Che, non può trovar poſa in ſulle piume
Ma con dar volta ſuo dolore ſcherma.

Dante. Purg. Cant. vi.

of others. They wiſely repreſſed the dangerous deſire of ſubjecting to their dominion ſurrounding ſtates, nor aſpired to the invidious honor of ſparing the ſubſervient, and overturning the proud; and, though a community of freemen, were content to be the firſt in thoſe accompliſhments, which the flatterer of Auguſtus affected to deſpiſe (*a*).

There is however reaſon to conjecture, that the Florentine government, although ſufficiently vigorous for internal regulation, was inadequate to the exertions of external warfare. The hand that may ſteer a veſſel through the tranquil ocean, may be unable to direct the helm amidſt the fury of the ſtorm. It may indeed well be conceived, that the delegated magiſtrates, being ſo extremely limited, as well with reſpect to their number, as to the duration of their power, would reluctantly determine on, and cautiouſly engage in meaſures, which involved the welfare, and perhaps the exiſtence of the community. Accordingly it appears that on important occaſions it was cuſtomary for the magiſtrates to aſſemble the moſt reſpectable citizens, from whoſe advice they might derive aſſiſtance, and by whoſe countenance they might

(*a*) Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt cauſſas melius, cœlique meatus,
Deſcribent radio & ſurgentia ſidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
(Hæ tibi erunt artes,) pacique imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

Æn. lib. vi.

ſecure themſelves from cenſure. During the late dangerous conteſt, this meaſure had been frequently reſorted to, and with ſuch manifeſt advantage, that Lorenzo, after the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, recommended, and obtained the eſtabliſhment of a body of ſeventy citizens, who, in the nature of a ſenate, were to deliberate and to decide on all the tranſactions of government, as well in the affairs of peace, as of war. This inſtitution, for which he might have pleaded the example of the Spartan legiſlator, was probably intended, not only to give a greater degree of ſtability and energy to the government, but to counteract the democratic ſpirit, which was ſuppoſed to have riſen to a dangerous exceſs (*a*), and to operate as a ſafeguard againſt an abuſe which was the deſtruction of all the free ſtates of antiquity—the exerciſe of the powers of government by the immediate interference of the citizens at large.

At this period, the city of Florence was at its higheſt degree of proſperity. The vigilance of Lorenzo had ſecured it from all apprehenſions of external attack; and his acknowledged diſintereſtedneſs and moderation had almoſt exſtinguiſhed that ſpirit of diſſenſion for which it had been ſo long remarkable. The Florentines gloried in their

(*a*) "All free governments," ſays Hume, very deciſively, "muſt "conſiſt of two councils, a leſſer and greater; or, in other words, "of a ſenate and people." "The people" as Harrington obſerves, "would want wiſdom without the ſenate; the ſenate, without the "people, would want honeſty." *Idea of a perfect Commonwealth.*

illuſtrious citizen, and were gratified in numbering in their body, a man who wielded in his hands the fate of nations, and attracted the reſpect and admiration of all Europe. Though much inferior in population, extent of dominion, and military character, to ſeveral of the other ſtates of Italy, Florence ſtood at this time in the firſt degree of reſpectability. The active ſpirit of its inhabitants, no longer engaged in hoſtile contentions, diſplayed itſelf in the purſuits of commerce, and the improvement of their manufactures. Equally enterpriſing and acute, wherever there appeared a poſſibility of profit, or of fame, they were the firſt to avail themſelves of it; and a Florentine adventurer, though with doubtful pretenſions, has erected to himſelf a monument which the proudeſt conqueror might envy, and impreſſed his name upon a new world in characters that are now indelible (*a*). The

(*a*) Amerigo Veſpucci, who has contended with Columbus for the honor of the diſcovery of America, was born at Florence in the year 1451, of a reſpectable family, of which ſeveral individuals had enjoyed the chief offices of the republic. The name of Amerigo was at Florence a common name of baptiſm. For an account of the controverſy that has taken place reſpecting the pretenſions of theſe eminent navigators, I muſt refer to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, *book* ii. *note* 22. without however approving the ſeverity of his animadverſions on the reſpectable Canonico Bandini, who has endeavoured, from original and almoſt contemporary documents, to ſupport the claims of his countryman. *Band. vita di Amerigo Veſp. Flor.* 1745. However this may be, it is certain, that about the year 1507, Veſpucci reſided at Seville, with the title of maſter pilot, and with authority to examine all other pilots; for which he had a ſalary aſſigned him; an employment, as Tiraboſchi well obſerves, ſuitable to a skilful navigator, but far below the pretenſions of a man who had firſt

ſilk and linen fabrics manufactured by the Florentines, were in a great degree wrought from their native productions; but their wool was imported from England and from Spain, whoſe inhabitants indolently reſigned their natural advantages, and purchaſed again at an extravagant price their own commodities. In almoſt every part to which the Florentines extended their trade, they were favored with peculiar privileges, which enabled them to avail themſelves of the riches they had already acquired; and the ſuperſtitious prohibitions of the clergy againſt uſury were of little avail againſt a traffic in which the rich found employment for their wealth, and the powerful relief in their neceſſities. The conſequence of theſe induſtrious exertions was, a ſudden increaſe of population in Florence; inſomuch that Lorenzo was under the neceſſity of applying to the pope, for his permiſſion to build in the gardens of the monaſteries within the walls of the city. By his attention, the police was alſo effectually reformed. A contemporary author aſſures us, that there was no part of Italy where the people were more regular in their conduct, or

diſcovered the new continent. This employment, however, afforded Veſpucci an opportunity of rendering his name immortal. As he deſigned the charts for navigation, he uniformly denominated that continent by the name of AMERICA, which being adopted by other mariners and navigators, ſoon became general. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* 6. *par.* i. *p.* 192. The memory of Veſpucci is therefore now ſecured by a memorial,

Quod non imber edax nec aquilo impotens,
Poſſit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum ſeries, & fuga temporum.

where atrocious crimes were leſs frequent (*a*). "We have here," ſays he, "no robberies, no "nocturnal commotions, no aſſaſſinations. By night "or by day every perſon may tranſact his concerns "in perfect ſafety. Spies and informers are here "unknown. The accuſation of one is not ſuffered "to affect the ſafety of the many; for it is a maxim "with Lorenzo, *that it is better to confide in all than* "*in a few.*" From the ſame authority we learn, that the due adminiſtration of juſtice engaged his conſtant attention, and that he carefully avoided giving riſe to an idea, that he was himſelf above the control of the law. Where compulſory regulations loſt their effect, the aſſiduity and example of Lorenzo produced the moſt ſalutary conſequences, and baniſhed that diſſipation which enervates, and that indolence which palſies ſociety. By forming inſtitutions for the cultivation of the ancient languages, or the diſcuſſion of philoſophical truths, by promoting the ſciences, and encouraging the uſeful and ornamental arts, he ſtimulated talents into action, and excited an emulation which called forth all the powers of the mind. Even the public ſpectacles, intended for the gratification of the multitude, partook of the poliſhed character of the inhabitants, and were conceived with ingenuity, and enlivened with wit. The proſperity and happineſs which the citizens thus enjoyed were attributed to their true ſource, and Lorenzo received

(*a*) *Philippus Redditus Exhort. ad Pet. Med. Laur. fil. inter opuſc. Joan. Lamii. Delic. Erudit. Flor.* 1742.

the beſt reward of his labors in the gratitude of his country.

Beyond the limits of Tuſcany, the character of this illuſtrious Florentine was more eminently conſpicuous. The glory of the republic appeared at a diſtance to be concentered in himſelf. To him, individually, ambaſſadors were frequently diſpatched by the firſt monarchs of Europe; who, as their concerns required, alternately courted his aſſiſtance or ſolicited his advice (*a*). In the year 1489, when the emperor Frederick III. ſent an embaſſy to Rome, he directed them to paſs through Florence to obtain the patronage of Lorenzo; being, as he ſaid, convinced of his importance in directing the affairs of Italy. An interchange of kind offices ſubſiſted between this eminent citizen and John II. king of Portugal, who was deſervedly dignified with the appellation of great, and was deſirous that the tranſactions of his life ſhould be recorded by the pen of Politiano (*b*). From Matteo Corvino whoſe virtues had raiſed him to the throne of Hungary, many letters addreſſed to Lorenzo are yet extant, which demonſtrate not only the warm

(*a*) C'étoit une choſe auſſi admirable qu'éloignée de nos mœurs, de voir ce citoyen, qui faiſait toujours le commerce, vendre d'une main les denrées du Levant, & ſoutenir de l'autre le fardeau de la république; entretenir des facteurs, & recevoir des ambaſſadeurs; réſiſter au pape, faire la guerre & la paix, être l'oracle des princes, cultiver les belles-lettres, donner des ſpectacles au peuple, & accueillir tous les ſçavans Grecs de Conſtantinople. Il égala le grand *Coſme* par ſes bienfaits, & le ſurpaſſa par ſa magnificence.

Volt. Eſſai, v. ii. *p.* 284.

(*a*) *Pol. Epiſt. lib.* x. *Ep.* 1, 2.

attachment

attachment of that monarch to the cauſe of ſcience and the arts, but his eſteem and veneration for the man whom he conſidered as their moſt zealous protector (*a*). As the reputation of Lorenzo increaſed, the aſſiduities of Louis XI. of France became more conſpicuous; and in exchange for profeſſions of eſteem, which from ſuch a quarter could confer no honor, we find him ſoliciting from Lorenzo ſubſtantial favors (*b*). The commercial intercourſe between Florence and Egypt, by means of which the Florentines carried on their lucrative traffic in the productions of the eaſt, was extended and improved by Lorenzo; and ſuch was the eſtimation in which he was held by the ſultan, that, in the year 1487, an ambaſſador arrived at Florence, bringing with him, as a mark of his maſter's eſteem, many ſingular preſents of rare animals and valuable commodities; amongſt the former of which, a camelopardalis principally attracted the curioſity of the populace (*c*).

This epoch forms one of thoſe ſcanty portions in the hiſtory of mankind, on which we may dwell without weeping over the calamities, or bluſhing for the crimes of our ſpecies. Accordingly, the fancy of the poet, expanding in the gleam of

(*a*) Theſe letters are preſerved in the *Palazzo Vecchio*, at Florence. *Filz.* xlvii.

(*b*) A letter from Louis XI. to Lorenzo, moſt earneſtly entreating his aſſiſtance in promoting the intereſts of the king's favorites in a propoſed nomination of cardinals by Innocent VIII. is preſerved in the *Palazzo Vecchio*. *Filz.* lix.

(*c*) Of theſe articles Pietro da Bibbiena, the ſecretary of Lorenzo, gives an inventory to Clarice his wife, *v. App. No.* XLIX. *Fabr.* ii. 337.

proſperity, has celebrated theſe times as realizing the beautiful fiction of the golden age (*a*). This ſeaſon of tranquillity is the interval to which Guicciardini ſo ſtrikingly adverts, in the commencement of his hiſtory, as being "proſperous beyond any "other that Italy had experienced, during the "long courſe of a thouſand years. When the "whole extent of that fertile and beautiful country "was cultivated, not only throughout its wide "plains and fruitful vallies, but even amidſt its "moſt ſterile and mountainous regions; and under "no control but that of its native nobility and "rulers, exulted, not only in the number and "riches of its inhabitants, but in the magnificence "of its princes, in the ſplendor of many ſuperb "and noble cities, and in the reſidence and majeſty "of religion itſelf. Abounding with men eminent "in the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſkilled in "every honorable ſcience and every uſeful art, "it ſtood high in the eſtimation of foreign nations. "Which extraordinary felicity, acquired at many "different opportunities, ſeveral circumſtances "contributed to preſerve, but among the reſt, no "ſmall ſhare of it was, by general conſent, aſcribed "to the induſtry and the virtue of Lorenzo "de' Medici; a citizen, who roſe ſo far beyond "the mediocrity of a private ſtation, that he regu-"lated by his counſels the affairs of Florence, then

(*a*) From the numerous pieces which allude to this period, I ſhall ſelect the poem of Aurelius (or Lippo) Brandolini, *De laudibus Laurentii Medicis*, as it is given in the *Carmina illuſt. Poet. Ital.* v. ii. *p.* 439. A collection now very rarely met with. *v. App. No.* I.

" more important by its ſituation, by the genius " of its inhabitants, and the promptitude of its " reſources, than by the extent of its dominions; " and who having obtained the implicit confidence " of the Roman pontiff, Innocent VIII. rendered " his name great, and his authority important in " the affairs of Italy. Convinced of the perils " that might ariſe, both to the Florentine republic " and to himſelf, if any of the more powerful " ſtates ſhould be allowed to extend their domini- " ons, he uſed every exertion that the affairs of " Italy might be ſo balanced, that there ſhould be " no inclination in favor of any particular ſtate; " a circumſtance which could not take place " without the permanent eſtabliſhment of peace, " and the minuteſt attention to every event, how- " ever trivial it might appear." Such are the repreſentations of this celebrated hiſtorian. It is only to be regretted that theſe proſperous days were of ſuch ſhort duration. Like a momentary calm that precedes the ravages of the tempeſt, they were ſcarcely enjoyed before they were paſt. The fabric of the public happineſs, erected by the vigilance, and preſerved by the conſtant care of Lorenzo, remained indeed firm and compact during the ſhort remainder of his days; but at his death it diſſolved like the work of enchantment, and overwhelmed for a time in its ruins even the deſcendants of its founder.

CHAP. VII.

DIFFERENT progreſs of Italian and claſſical literature —Latin writings of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio —Effects produced by them—Emanuel Chryſoloras— Conſequences of improvement—Progreſs of the Laurentian Library—Introduction of printing in Florence —Early editions of the claſſic authors—Politiano corrects the Pandects of Juſtinian—Miſcellanea of Politiano—His controverſy with Merula—Eſtabliſhment of the Greek academy at Florence—Joannes Argyropylus—Demetrius Chalcondyles—Engliſh ſcholars at Florence—Political importance obtained by men of learning — Florentine ſecretaries — Bartolommeo Scala—His controverſy with Politiano—Learned ſtateſmen in other governments of Italy — Men of rank devote themſelves to ſtudy—Pico of Mirandula —Learned women — Aleſſandra Scala — Caſſandra Fidelis — Reſult of the attention ſhown to claſſical learning — Tranſlations — Italian writers of Latin poetry — Landino — Ugolino and Michael Verini — Other Latin poets of the fifteenth century—Character of the Latin poetry of Politiano — General idea of the ſtate of literature in Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

OF the improvement that took place in the Italian language in the fourteenth century, of its rapid and unexpected decline in that which ſucceeded and of its reſtoration under the auſpices of Lorenzo de'

Medici, ſome account has already been given; but in tracing the hiſtory of the revival and progreſs of the ancient languages, we ſhall find, that as they were influenced by other cauſes, they neither flouriſhed nor declined with the ſtudy of the national tongue. On the contrary, a daily proficiency was made in claſſical literature, at the very time that the Italian language was again ſinking into barbariſm and neglect; and the former advanced, by a gradual but certain progreſs, towards that perfection which the latter ſuddenly and unexpectedly attained, from the cauſes to which we have before adverted.

In aſſigning the reaſon for this remarkable diſtinction, we muſt again recur to the times of Dante, of Petrarca, and of Boccaccio; and obſerve the effects produced by the exertions of thoſe great men, whoſe talents throw a luſtre over a period which would otherwiſe be involved in total darkneſs. In eſtimating their labors, we ſhall find that their various attempts to reduce into form their native language, and to revive the ſtudy of the ancient tongues, were not only attended with different degrees of ſucceſs, but were followed by conſequences preciſely the reverſe of thoſe which might have been expected. With whatever juſtice Petrarca and Boccaccio might, in their own days, have boaſted of their voluminous productions in the Latin tongue, the increaſing applauſe beſtowed on their Italian writings ſoon obſcured their fame as Latin authors; and they are indebted for their preſent celebrity to works which they almoſt bluſhed

to own, and were aſhamed to communicate to each other (*a*). The different merits of their Latin and their Italian compoſitions were however ſoon appreciated; and whilſt the latter were daily riſing in the eſtimation of the world, the former loſt a great ſhare of their reputation before the cloſe of the ſucceeding century. "It is not to be denied (*b*)," ſays a very judicious critic of that period, "that "both Dante and Petrarca were warm admirers "of the ancients; but the Latin writings of Dante, "like a picture that has loſt its color, exhibit little "more than an outline. Happy indeed had it "been, had this author been enabled to convey "his ſentiments in Latin, as advantageouſly as he "has done in his native tongue. The numerous "works of Petrarca, the offspring of that ſolitude "in which he delighted, are laſting monuments "of his induſtry and his talents. Yet his ſtyle is "harſh, and ſcarcely bears the character of Latinity. "His writings are indeed full of thought, but de-"fective in expreſſion, and diſplay the marks of "labor without the poliſh of elegance; but as we "ſometimes take a potion, not for the ſake of

(*a*) The Decamerone of Boccaccio was not communicated to Petrarca till many years after it was written (*Manni, Illuſt. del Boccaccio, p.* 629.); and Petrarca himſelf confeſſes, that the reception of his Italian writings was far more favorable than he expected.

S'io aveſſi penſato che si care,
Foſſin le voci de' ſoſpir miei in rima,
Fatte l'avrei dal ſoſpirar mio prima,
In numero più ſpeſſe, in ſtil più rare.

Son. 253.

(*a*) *Paulus Corteſius, De Hominibus doctis, p.* 7. *Ed. Flor.* 1734.

" gratification, but of health, ſo from theſe writings " we muſt expect to derive utility rather than " amuſement. Rude as they are, they poſſeſs how- " ever ſome ſecret charm which renders them " engaging. The diſtinguiſhed talents of Boccaccio " ſunk under the preſſure of the general malady. " Licentious and inaccurate in his diction, he has " no idea of ſelection. All his Latin writings are " haſty, crude, and uninformed. He labors with " thought, and ſtruggles to give it utterance; but " his ſentiments find no adequate vehicle, and the " luſtre of his native talents is obſcured by the " depraved taſte of the times." Whilſt ſuch was the fate of the Latin productions of theſe authors, their Italian writings were the objects rather of adoration than applauſe. No longer confined to the peruſal of the cloſet, and the gratification of an individual, the poems of Dante and of Petrarca were read in public aſſemblies of the inhabitants of Florence, and their beauties pointed out, or their obſcurities illuſtrated, by the moſt eminent ſcholars of the time. No ſooner was the art of printing diſcovered, than copies of them were multiplied with an avidity which demonſtrates the high eſteem in which they were held. Even the prolix annotations with which theſe early editions were generally accompanied, if they do not for the moſt part diſplay the talents of the critic, are a proof of the celebrity of the author. This obſervation is not however applicable to the commentary of Dante by Landino, who, with a laudable perſeverance, has preſerved the remembrance of many

hiſtorical facts, and related many circumſtances indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the explanation of the *Divina Commedia.* His induſtry in the execution of a taſk ſo grateful to his countrymen, was rewarded by the donation of a villa, or reſidence, on the hill of Caſentino, in the vicinity of Florence, which he enjoyed under the ſanction of a public decree. Whilſt the annotator was thus compenſated, the exiled poet was, upwards of a century after his death, reſtored to his family honors, with the ſame formalities as if he had been ſtill living; his deſcendants were permitted to enjoy the poſſeſſions of their illuſtrious anceſtor, and his buſt, crowned with laurels, was raiſed at the public expenſe.

It might then have been expected, that the ſucceſsful efforts of theſe authors to improve their native tongue, would have been more effectual than the weak, though laudable attempts made by them to revive the ſtudy of the ancient languages; but it muſt be remembered, that they were all of them men of genius, and genius aſſimilates not with the character of the age. Homer and Shakſpeare have no imitators, and are no models. The example of ſuch talents is perhaps upon the whole unfavorable to the general progreſs of improvement; and the ſuperlative abilities of a few, have more than once damped the ardor of a nation (*a*). But if the

(*a*) Dopo la morte di Cicerone e di Vergilio due chiariſſimi ſpecchi della lingua Latina, cominciò il modo dello ſcrivere Romanamente, così in verſi come in proſa, a mutarſi & variare da ſe medeſimo, e andò tanto di mano in mano peggiorando, che non era quaſi più quel deſſo. Il medeſimo nè più nè meno avvenne nella

great Italian authors were inimitable in the productions of their native language, in their Latin writings they appeared in a ſubordinate character. Of the labors of the ancients, enough had been diſcovered to mark the decided difference between their merits and thoſe of their modern imitators; and the applauſes beſtowed upon the latter, were only in proportion to the degree in which they approached the models of ancient eloquence. This competition was therefore eagerly entered into; nor had the ſucceſs of the firſt revivers of theſe ſtudies deprived their followers of the hope of ſurpaſſing them (*a*). Even the early part of the fifteenth century produced ſcholars as much ſuperior to Petrarca, and his coadjutors, as they were to the monkiſh compilers, and ſcholaſtic diſputants, who immediately preceded them; and the labors of Leonardo Aretino, Gianozzo Manetti, Guarino Veroneſe, and Poggio Bracciolini, prepared the way for the ſtill more correct and claſſical productions of Politiano, Sannazaro, Pontano, and Augurelli. The declining ſtate of Italian literature,

lingua fiorentina; perchè ſpenti Dante, il Petrarca, e'l Boccaccio, cominciò a variare e mutarſi il modo e la guiſa del favellare, e dello ſcrivere fiorentinamente, e tanto andò di male in peggio che quaſi non ſi riconoſceva più, &c.

Varchi L'Ercolano, vol. i. *p.* 83. *Ed. Padova*, 1744.

(*a*) Difficilis in perfecto mora eſt; naturaliterque quod procedere non poteſt, recedit. Et, ut primo ad conſequendos, quos priores ducimus, accendimur; ita ubi aut præteriri aut æquari eos poſſe deſperavimus, ſtudium cum ſpe feneſcit; & quod adſequi non poteſt, ſequi deſinit: præteritoque eo in quo eminere non poſſimus, aliquid in quo nitamur conquirimus. *Velleius Paterc. lib.* i. *cap.* 17.

ſo far then from being inconſiſtent with, was rather a conſequence of the proficiency made in other purſuits, which, whilſt they were diſtinguiſhed by a greater degree of celebrity, demanded a more continued attention, and an almoſt abſolute devotion both of talents and of time.

Whatever may have been the opinion in more modern times, the Italian ſcholars of the fifteenth century did not attribute to the exertions of their own countrymen the reſtoration of ancient learning. That they had ſhown a decided predilection for thoſe ſtudies, and had excited an ardent thirſt of further knowledge, is univerſally allowed; but the ſource from which that thirſt was allayed, was found in Emanuel Chryſoloras, who, after his return to his native country from his important embaſſies, was prevailed upon by the Florentines to pay a ſecond viſit to Italy, and to fix his reſidence among them. The obligations due to Chryſoloras, are acknowledged in various parts of their works, by thoſe who availed themſelves of his inſtructions; and the gratitude of his immediate hearers was transfuſed into a new race of ſcholars, who by their eulogies on their literary patriarch, but much more by their own talents, contributed to honor his memory (*a*). On his arrival in Italy

(*a*) Chryſoloras died at Conſtance, when the council was held there in 1415. A volume, conſiſting of eulogies upon him, lately exiſted in the monaſtery at *Camaldoli*. (*Zeno. Diſſ. Voſſ. v.* i. *p.* 214.) Poggio and Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.) each of them honored him with an epitaph. In the latter, the merit of having been the reviver of both Greek and Latin literature, is explicitly attributed to him.

in the character of an inſtructor, he was accompanied by Demetrius Cydonius, another learned Greek. The ardor with which they were received by the Italian ſcholars, may be conjectured from a letter of Coluccio Salutati to Demetrius, on his landing at Venice (*a*). "I rejoice not ſo much," ſays he, "in the honor I receive from your notice, as for "the intereſts of literature. At a time when the "ſtudy of the Greek language is nearly loſt, and "the minds of men are wholly engroſſed by am-"bition, voluptuouſneſs, or avarice, you appear "as the meſſengers of the Divinity, bearing the "torch of knowledge into the midſt of our darkneſs. "Happy indeed ſhall I eſteem myſelf, (if this life "can afford any happineſs to a man to whom

Ille ego, qui Latium priſcas imitarier artes,
Explosis docui ſermonum ambagibus, & qui,
Eloquium magni DEMOSTHENIS & CICERONIS
In lucem retuli, CHRYSOLORAS nomine notus,
Hic ſitus emoriens, peregrina ſede quieſco, &c.
Hod. de Græc. illuſt. p. 24.

Janus Pannonius, a ſcholar of Guarino Veroneſe, (for whoſe hiſtory and unhappy fate, *v. Valerianus De infelicitate Literatorum,*) in an elegant Latin panegyric on his preceptor, alſo pays a tribute of reſpect to the Greek ſcholar:

Vir fuit hic patrio CHRYSOLORAS nomine dictus,
Candida Mercurio quem Calliopæa crearat,
Nutrierat Pallas: nec ſolis ille parentum
Clarus erat ſtudiis, ſed rerum protinus omnem
Naturam, magna complexus mente tenebat.
Jani Pannonii Quinqueccleſienſis Epiſc. Paneg. ad Guar. Ver. preceptorem ſuum ap. Frobenium. Baſil. 1518. *p.* 11.

(*a*) *Mehus, in vitâ Amb. Trav. p.* 356. This early viſitor has eſcaped the reſearches of Dr. Hody. *De Græc. Illuſt.*

" to-morrow will bring the close of his sixty-fifth " year,) if I should by your assistance imbibe those " principles, from which all the knowledge which " this country possesses is wholly derived. Perhaps, " even yet, the example of Cato may stimulate me " to devote to this study the little that remains of " life, and I may yet add to my other acquirements, " a knowledge of the Grecian tongue."

If we advert to the night of thick darkness in which the world had been long enveloped, we may easily conceive the sensations that took place in the minds of men when the gloom began to disperse, and the spectres of false science, by turns fantastic and terrific, gave way to the distinct and accurate forms of nature and of truth. The Greeks who visited Italy in the early part of the fifteenth century, if they did not diffuse a thorough knowledge of their language, and of those sciences which they exclusively possessed, at least prepared a safe asylum for the muses and the arts, who had long trembled at the approach, and at length fled before the fierce aspect of Mahomet II. From that period a new order of things took place in Italy; the construction of language was investigated on philosophical principles; the maxims of sound criticism began to supplant the scholastic subtilties which had perverted for ages the powers of the human mind; and men descended from their fancied eminence among the regions of speculation and hypothesis, to tread the earth with a firm foot, and to gain the temple of fame by a legitimate, though laborious path.

The eſtabliſhment of public libraries in different parts of Italy, whilſt it was one of the firſt conſequences of this ſtriking predilection for the works of the ancients, became in its turn the active cauſe of further improvement. To no deſcription of individuals is the world more indebted, than to thoſe who have been inſtrumental in preſerving the wiſdom of paſt ages, for the uſe of thoſe to come, and thereby giving, as it were, a general ſenſorium to the human race. In this reſpect great obligations are due to the venerable Coſmo (*a*). From the intercourſe that in his time ſubſiſted between Florence and Conſtantinople, and the long viſits made by the Greek prelates and ſcholars to Italy, he had the beſt opportunity of obtaining the choiceſt treaſures of ancient learning; and the deſtruction of Conſtantinople may be ſaid to have transferred to Italy all that remained of eaſtern ſcience (*b*). After the death of Coſmo, his ſon Piero purſued with ſteady perſeverance the ſame object, and made important additions to the various

(*a*) *Bandini, Lettera ſopra i principj, &c. della Biblioteca Laurenziana. Fir.* 1773.

(*b*) The library of S. Marco, which, as we have before related, was founded by Coſmo, with the books collected by Niccolo Niccoli, and augmented at his own expenſe, was, in the year 1454, almoſt buried in ruins by an earthquake, that continued at intervals for nearly forty days, during which ſeveral perſons loſt their lives, Coſmo however not only reſtored the building to its former ſtate, but raiſed the ceiling, ſo as to admit of a more extenſive collection. At the ſame time a new arrangement of the manuſcripts took place, and the Greek and Oriental works were formed into a claſs diſtinct from the Latin.

Mehus in vitâ Amb. Trav. p. 66. 73.

collections which Cosmo had begun, particularly to that of his own family (*a*). But although the ancestors of Lorenzo laid the foundation of the immense collection of manuscripts, since denominated the Laurentian Library, he may himself claim the honor of having raised the superstructure. If there was any pursuit in which he engaged more ardently, and persevered more diligently than the rest, it was that of enlarging his collection of books and antiquities. "We need not wonder," says Niccolo Leoniceno, writing to Politiano (*b*), "at "your eloquence and your acquirements, when "we consider the advantages which you derive "from the favor of Lorenzo de' Medici, the great "patron of learning in this age; whose messengers "are dispersed throughout every part of the earth,

(*a*) The manuscripts acquired by Piero de' Medici are for the most part highly ornamented with miniatures, gilding, and other decorations, and are distinguished by the *fleurs de lys*. Those collected by Lorenzo are marked not only with the Medicean arms, but with a laurel branch in allusion to his name, and the motto SEMPER. When we advert to the immense prices which were given for these works, and the labor afterwards employed on them, they may be considered as the most expensive articles of luxury. A taste for the exterior decoration of books has lately arisen in this country, in the gratification of which no small share of ingenuity has been displayed; but if we are to judge of the present predilection for learning by the degree of expense thus incurred, we must consider it as greatly inferior either to that of the Romans, during the times of the first emperors, or of the Italians in the fifteenth century. And yet it is perhaps difficult to discover, why a favorite book should not be as proper an object of elegant ornament, as the head of a cane, the hilt of a sword, or the latchet of a shoe.

(*b*) *Polit. Epist. lib.* ii. *Ep.* 7.

" for the purpoſe of collecting books on every " ſcience, and who has ſpared no expenſe in " procuring for your uſe, and that of others who " may devote themſelves to ſimilar ſtudies, the " materials neceſſary for your purpoſe. I well " remember the glorious expreſſion of Lorenzo, " which you repeated to me, that he wiſhed the " diligence of Pico and yourſelf, would afford him " ſuch opportunities of purchaſing books, that " his fortune proving inſufficient, he might pledge " even his furniture to poſſeſs them." Acting under the influence of ſuch impreſſions, we cannot wonder at the progreſs made by Lorenzo, in which he derived great aſſiſtance from Hieronymo Donato, Ermolao Barbaro, and Paolo Corteſi; but his principal coadjutor was Politiano, to whom he committed the care and arrangement of his collection, and who made excurſions at intervals through Italy, to diſcover and purchaſe ſuch remains of antiquity, as ſuited the purpoſes of his patron (*a*). Two journies, undertaken at the inſtance of Lorenzo into the eaſt, by Giovanni Laſcar produced a great number of rare and valuable works. On his return from his ſecond expedition, he brought with him about two hundred copies, many of which he had procured from a monaſtery at Mount Athos; but

(*b*) Of the vigilance of Politiano in theſe purſuits, we have the moſt explicit evidence, in a letter from him to Lorenzo, firſt published by Fabroni, which may juſtify the forcible remark of that author on the literary agents of Lorenzo. " Porro ipſos venaticos canes dixiſſes, " ita odorabantur omnia & perveſtigabant, ut ubi quidque rarum " eſſet, aliqua ratione invenirent atque compararent."

Fabr. in vitâ Laur. v. i. p. 153. App. No. LI.

this treaſure did not arrive till after the death of Lorenzo, who in his laſt moments expreſſed to Politiano and Pico, his regret that he could not live to complete the collection which he was forming for their accommodation (*a*). Stimulated by the example of Lorenzo, other eminent patrons of learning engaged in the ſame purſuit. Thoſe who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves were Matteo Corvino king of Hungary, and Federigo duke of Urbino (*b*), to both of whom Lorenzo gave permiſſion to copy ſuch of his manuſcripts as they wiſhed to poſſeſs; nothing being more conſonant to his intentions than to diffuſe the ſpirit of literature as extenſively as poſſible.

The newly diſcovered art of printing, contributed alſo in an eminent degree, to accelerate the progreſs of claſſical literature. This art was practiſed very early in Florence, and ſome of the Florentine authors have even been deſirous of conferring on one of their countrymen, the merit of its invention (*c*); but this acute people have too many well-founded claims on the gratitude of poſterity, to render it neceſſary for them to rely on doubtful commendation. It is however certain that whilſt Venice ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Nicolas Jenſen, a native of France, and Rome began to practiſe the

(*a*) Non nihil etiam tunc quoque jocatus nobiſcum, quin utroſque intuens nos; Vellem ait diſtuliſſet me ſaltem mors hæc ad eum diem quo veſtram plane bibliothecam abſoluiſſem. *Pol. Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 2.

(*b*) *Pol. Ep. lib.* iii. *Ep.* 6. *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. v.* i. *p.* 154.

(*c*) *Manni, della prima promulgazione de' Libri in Firenze. Fir.* 1761.

art

art under the guidance of the two German printers, Sweynheym and Pannartz, Florence found amongſt her own citizens, an artiſt equal to the taſk. Taking for his example the inſcriptions on the ancient Roman ſeals (*a*), or more probably ſtimulated by the ſucceſs of his contemporaries, Bernardo Cennini, a Florentine goldſmith, formed the *matrices* of his letters in ſteel; by means of which, with the aſſiſtance of his two ſons, Domenico and Piero, he began in the year 1471, to print the works of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, which he publiſhed at Florence in the following year (*b*).

Lorenzo de' Medici ſaw the importance of a diſcovery, which had been wanting to the completion of the generous views of his anceſtors, and availed himſelf of it with a degree of earneſtneſs which ſufficiently ſhows the motives by which he was actuated. At his inſtigation, ſeveral of the Italian ſcholars were induced to beſtow their attention, in collating and correcting the manuſcripts

(*a*) *Manni, della prima promulgazione de' Libri in Firenze. p.* 3.

(*b*) At the cloſe of the Bucolics in this edition, is the following inſcription:

AD LECTOREM

Florentiæ vii. *Idus Novembres*

MCCCCLXXI.

Bernardus Cenninus Aurifex omnium judicio præſtantiſſimus & Dominicus ejus F. egregiæ indolis adoleſcens: expreſſis ante calibe characteribus, ac deinde fuſis literis, volumen hoc primum impreſſerunt. Petrus Cenninus Bernardi ejuſdem F. quanta potuit cura & diligentia emendavit, ut cernis. *Florentinis ingeniis nil ardui eſt.* And at the cloſe of the volume is another inſcription, with the date of October 1472.

of the ancient authors, in order that they might be submitted to the press with the greatest possible accuracy. In the dialogues of Landino, published by him under the name of *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, to which we have had occasion to refer (*a*), that author has devoted his third and fourth books to a critical dissertation on the works of Virgil, particularly with a view of explaining such parts as are supposed to contain an allegorical sense; but he soon afterwards performed a much more grateful office to the admirers of the Roman poet, by correcting the errors with which his works abounded, and endeavouring to restore them to their original purity. In the proeme to this work, which he has inscribed to Piero de' Medici, the son of Lorenzo, he recapitulates the favors which the ancestors of his patron have bestowed on men of learning, and particularly recommends to his imitation, in this respect, the example of his father. He adverts to the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici, and attributes the preservation of Lorenzo at that critical juncture to his own courage and magnanimity (*b*). Returning to his immediate subject, he thus proceeds: "In my dialogues of Camaldoli, I have given

(*a*) *Vol.* i. *p.* 103.

(*b*) Dabis, suavissime Petre, hoc in loco roganti mihi veniam, si barbaricam illam, & omnium sceleratissimam ac fine exemplo conjurationem silentio præterierim: qua in templo marmoreo inter sacra solemnia & Julianus frater sævissime trucidatus, & ipse Laurentius, inter strictos, & undique eum petentes gladios jam jam casurus, ita elapsus est, ut non humano, sed divino auxilio, & sua animi præstantia, quæ audacissimum quemque terrere poterat, de manu inimicorum ereptus videatur. *Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v.* i. *p.* 223.

" a philoſophical comment on the works of Virgil. " I now mean to perform the office of a gram- " marian and critic on this author. In my former " attempt, as the ſubject is of more dignity, I " have introduced your father as one of the diſ- " putants; but theſe obſervations, which are intend- " ed to inculcate a knowledge of the Latin language, " I conſider as more properly addreſſed to a young " man of your promiſing talents and cultivated " underſtanding (*a*)." In the year 1482, Landino publiſhed alſo an edition of the works of Horace, with numerous corrections and remarks, which he inſcribed to Guido da Feltri, the ſon of Federigo, duke of Urbino (*b*), to whom he had dedicated, in terms of the higheſt commendation and reſpect, his *Diſputationes Camaldulenſes*. Landino was one of the firſt ſcholars who, after the revival of letters, devoted himſelf to the important taſk of reſtoring and elucidating theſe favorite authors, and his labors were received with unbounded applauſe. Of his obſervations on Horace conſiderable uſe has been made by many ſubſequent editors. On their publication, Politiano accompanied them with the following ode, not unworthy of the poet whoſe praiſes it is intended to celebrate (*c*):

(*a*) *Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v.* i. *p.* 225.

(*b*) *Impreſſum per Antonium Miſcominum, Florentiæ, anno Salutis* MCCCCLXXXII. *nonis Auguſti.* Theſe commentaries were republished at Venice, *per Joannem de Forlivio & Socios,* in the following year, and ſeveral ſubſequent editions have taken place.

(*c*) This ode is not printed in the works of Politiano, and is very inaccurately given by Bandini. *Spec. Lit. Flor.* It is here republished from the edition of Horace by Landino, *Ven.* MCCCCLXXXIII.

AD HORATIUM FLACCUM.

Vates Threicio blandior Orpheo,
Seu malis fidibus fiftere lubricos
Amnes, feu tremulo ducere pollice
Ipfis cum latebris feras;
Vates Aeolii pectinis arbiter,
Qui princeps Latiam follicitas chelyn,
Nec fegnis titulos addere noxiis
Nigro carmine frontibus;
Quis te a barbarica compede vindicat?
Quis frontis nebulam difpulit, & fitu
Deterfo, levibus reftituit choris,
Curata juvenem cute?
O quam nuper eras nubilus, & malo
Obductus fenio, quam nitidos ades
Nunc vultus referens, docta fragrantibus
Cinctus tempora floribus!
Talem purpureis reddere folibus
Lactum pube nova poft gelidas nives
Serpentem, pofitis exuviis, folet
Verni temperies poli.
Talem te choreis reddidit & Lyrae,
LANDINUS, veterum laudibus æmulus,
Qualis tu folitus Tibur ad uvidum
Blandam tendere barbiton.
Nunc te deliciis, nunc decet & levi
Lafcivire joco, nunc puerilibus
Infertum thyafis, aut fide garrula,
Inter ludere virgines.

Poet, than whom the bard of Thrace
Ne'er knew to touch a fweeter ftring;

O whether from their deep receſs
The tenants of the wilds thou bring,
With all their ſhades; whether thy ſtrain
Bid liſtening rivers ceaſe to flow;
Whether with magic verſe thou ſtain
A laſting blot on vice's brow;
Poet! who firſt the Latian lyre
To ſweet Æolian numbers ſtrung!
When late repreſſed thy native fire,
When late impervious glooms o'erhung
Thy front, O ſay what hand divine
Thy rude barbaric chains unbound,
And bade thee in new luſtre ſhine,
Thy locks with vernal roſes crown'd?
As when in ſpring's reviving gleam
The ſerpent quits his ſcaly ſlough,
Once more beneath the ſunny beam,
In renovated youth to glow;
To thy lov'd lyre, and choral throng,
LANDINO thus their poet brings;
Such as thy TIBUR heard thy ſong,
Midſt her cool ſhades and guſhing ſprings.
Again with tales of whiſpered love,
With ſprightly wit of happieſt vein,
Through bands of vine-crown'd youths to rove,
Or ſport amidſt the virgin train.

It is greatly to the credit of Politiano that theſe verſes were addreſſed to the perſon who was his moſt formidable rival in thoſe ſtudies to which he had particularly devoted his talents. In reſtoring to their original purity the ancient authors, he was himſelf indefatigable; and if to the mu-

nificence of Lorenzo de' Medici we are to attribute the preſervation of many of theſe works, Politiano is perhaps entitled to our equal acknowledgments for his elucidations and corrections of the text, which, from a variety of cauſes, was frequently unintelligible, illegible, or corrupt. In the exerciſe of his critical talents he did not confine himſelf to any preciſe method, but adopted ſuch as he conceived beſt ſuited his purpoſe; on ſome occaſions only comparing different copies, diligently marking the variations, rejecting ſpurious readings, and ſubſtituting the true. In other caſes he proceeded further, and added Scholia and notes illuſtrative of the text, either from his own conjectures, or the authority of other authors (*a*). Beſides the advantages which he derived from various copies of the ſame work, which enabled him to collate them ſo as to aſcertain the true reading, he obtained

(*a*) In the edition of Cato, Varro, and Columella, published at Paris, *ex off. Rob. Stephani*, 1543, with the corrections of Pet. Victorius, that excellent critic thus adverts to the labors of Politiano: "Non exemplar ipſum ſemper conſului, ſed habui excuſos formis "libros, quos cum antiquis illis *Angelus Politianus* ſtudioſe olim "contulerat, eoſque, quantum mihi commodum fuit, pertractavi; illi "enim quoque publici ſunt. Eruditiſſimi igitur viri labor, magno "me labore levavit; qui quidem, ut erat diligens, & accuratus, hac "librorum collatione mirifice delectabatur: & ita poſſe bonos auctores "multis maculis purgari, vere exiſtimabat. Quæcumque igitur in "priſcis exemplaribus inveniebat, in impreſſis ſedulo adnotabat. "Quod ſi diutius ille vixiſſet, & quæ mente deſtinaverat perficere "potuiſſet, opera ſedulitaſque ipſius magnos ſtudioſis litterarum fructus "attuliſſet, multoſque qui poſtea huic muneri corrigendorum librorum "neceſſario incubuerunt, magna prorſus moleſtia liberaſſet."

great assistance from the collection of antiques formed by Lorenzo and his ancestors; and amongst his coins, inscriptions on marble, and other authentic documents, frequently elucidated and determined what might otherwise have remained in darkness or in doubt (*a*). At the close of his remarks on Catullus, a memorial appears in his own handwriting, in which he indulges himself in an exultation of youthful vanity, in the idea of having surpassed all his contemporaries in the diligence which he has shown in correcting the ancient authors. This memorial, which bears the date of 1473, at which time he was only eighteen years of age, is subscribed *Angelus Bassus Politianus.* Before, however, we accuse our youthful critic of an ostentatious display of learning, or an improper confidence in his own abilities, we ought to advert to another entry made two years afterwards at the close of the works of Propertius in the same volume, by which he confesses, that many of his previous observations do not approve themselves to his riper judgment, and requests the reader not to form an opinion of his talents, his leaning, or his industry, from such a specimen. There being many things

Me quoque, qui scripsi, judice digna lini.

Which I, their author, well might wish to blot (*b*).

(*a*) *Menck. in vitâ Pol. p.* 237.

(*b*) The reader may consult these memoranda in the Appendix, No. LII.

In this ſubſequent entry he denominates himſelf *Angelus Politianus*, which ſufficiently marks the period when he choſe to diſcontinue the appellation of *Baſſus* (*a*); but what is of more importance, it ſerves to convince us, that with the errors of his judgment Politiano corrected alſo thoſe of his temper, and that his proficiency in learning was accompanied by an equal improvement in modeſty and candor. Among the ancient authors which he has thus illuſtrated are Ovid (*b*), Suetonius (*c*), Statius (*d*), The younger Pliny (*e*), The Scriptores Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ (*f*), and Quintilian (*g*); ſome of which have been publiſhed with his emendations, while his valuable remarks on others are yet confined to the limits of the Italian libraries. The example of Politiano was followed by many other celebrated ſcholars, who regarded Lorenzo de' Medici as the patron of their ſtudies, and inſcribed their labors with his name. Thus Domitio Calderino undertook to regulate the text of Martial (*h*), Bartolommeo Fontio employed his talents on

(*a*) On this point, which has been ſo much conteſted, I find the opinion of Bandini before cited in this work, *v.* i. *p.* 144, is confirmed by that of Laur. Mehus, *Vita Amb. Traverſarii, p.* 87.

(*b*) In the Bibliotheca Marciana.

(*c*) In the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* LXIV. *cod.* 1.

(*d*) In the Corſini Library at Rome.

(*e*) In the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* LXVII. *cod.* 7.

(*f*) Ib. *Plut.* XLIV. *cod.* 1.

(*g*) Ib. *Plut.* XLVI. *cod.* 5.

(*h*) Printed at Rome per Joannem Gensberg, 1474, *v. De Bure, No.* 2818.

Perſius (*a*), and Lancelotto on Columella (*b*). Nor were the Greek authors neglected. In the year 1488, Demetrius Chalcondyles and Demetrius Cretenſis publiſhed at Florence the firſt edition of the works of Homer, which is inſcribed to Piero de' Medici, the ſon of Lorenzo (*c*).

The ſyſtem of juriſprudence which in the fifteenth century prevailed throughout the greateſt part of Europe, was that of the Roman or civil law, which was principally founded on the pandects or conſtitutions of Juſtinian. Hence the correction and explication of the ſubſiſting copies of this work became of high importance to the community. This taſk was reſerved for the indefatigable induſtry of Politiano, whoſe labors in this department entitle him to rank not only with the earlieſt, but with the moſt learned modern profeſſors of this ſcience. In his letters he has himſelf given ſome account of his progreſs in this laborious work. Much additional information may be found in the narrative of his life by Menckenius; and Bandini, who has lately had the good fortune to recover the commentary of Politiano and reſtore it to its former ſtation in the Laurentian Library, has

(*a*) Published in 1481. *Band. Cat. Bibl. Laur. v.* ii. *p.* 679.

(*b*) *Band. Cat. v.* ii. *p.* 564. In the preface to this author, the editor thus addreſſes Lorenzo: "Ab ineunte etenim ætate, ſplendidiſ-"ſima nominis tui fama, ad tuam benevolentiam captandam ita me "compulit, ut cunctis potius honoris tui ſtudioſum oſtendere hoc ævo "malim, quam in decorem meum reticere."

(*c*) Florentiæ imp. *Typis Bernardi & Nerii Tanaidis Nerlii Florentinorum. Nono menſis Decembris Anno* 1488. 2 vol. fo. For an account of this magnificent work, *v. De Bure, No.* 2493.

publiſhed an hiſtorical narrative expreſſly on this ſubject (*a*). In the accompliſhment of this taſk, which he was induced to undertake at the inſtance of Lorenzo de' Medici, Politiano had ſingular advantages. An ancient and authentic copy found at Piſa, and ſuppoſed to have been depoſited there by the orders of Juſtinian himſelf, had on the capture of that place been transferred to Florence (*b*), and was afterwards intruſted by Lorenzo de' Medici to the ſole cuſtody of Politiano (*c*). By this he was enabled to correct the numerous errors, and to ſupply the defects of the more recent manuſcripts, as well as of two editions which had before iſſued from the preſs (*d*). The

(*a*) *Raggionamento Iſtorico ſopra le collazioni delle Fiorentine Pandette, fatta da Angelo Poliziano, ſotto gli auſpicij del Mag. Lorenzo de' Medici, &c. Livorno* 1762.

(*b*) " Principio igitur ſcire te illud opinor, Imperatorem Juſtinia-" num poſteaquam jus civile perpurgavit, in ordinemque redegit, " caviſſe illud in primis, ut in omnibus civitatibus quæ dignitate " aliqua præcellerant, exemplaria legum quam emendatiſſima publice " aſſervarentur — ſed nullum ex his clarius tamen aut celebratius, " quam quod ad uſque urbis ejus captivitatem, Piſis, magna religione " ſit cuſtoditum." *Pol. Ep. lib.* 10.

(*c*) " Hoc ergo mihi inſpicere per otium licuit, rimarique omnia, " & olfacere, quæque vellem excerpere diligenter, & cum vulgatis " exemplaribus comparare. Tribuit nam hoc mihi uni *Laurentius* " *ille Medices*, vir optimus ac ſapientiſſimus; fore illud aliquando " arbitratus, ut opera; labore induſtriaque noſtra, magna inde omnino " utilitas eliceretur." *Ib.*

(*d*) Mr. Gibbon gives Politiano the appellation of an enthuſiaſt, for ſuppoſing this manuſcript to be the " authentic ſtandard of Juſtinian " himſelf." " This paradox," ſays he, " is refuted by the abbrevia-" tions of the Florentine manuſcript, and the Latin characters betray

civilians of the enſuing century have freely confeſſed their obligations to a commentator who firſt with the true ſpirit of reſearch, applied himſelf to the elucidation of a ſcience in itſelf ſufficiently complex and obſcure, but which was rendered ſtill more ſo, by the imperfect ſtate of thoſe authorities to which its profeſſors were conſtantly obliged to refer.

Of the critical talents of Politiano, and of the variety and extent of his erudition, his *Miſcellanea* alone afford a ſufficient teſtimony (*a*). For the publication of this work, which conſiſts principally of obſervations on the writings of the ancient

" the hand of a Greek ſcribe." *Hiſt. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, lib.* 44. But Politiano had duly conſidered all the peculiarities of the manuſcript, of which he was a complete judge, and was fully of opinion that it was the production of a Latin ſcribe, and not of a Greek. " Eſt autem," ſays he in an epiſtle to Lod. Bologneſe (lib. xi.), " liber characteribus majuſculis, ſine ullis com-" pendiariis notis, ſine ullis diſtinctionibus; nec *Græcus*, ſed *Latinus*—" videlicet ille ipſe quem inter ceteros publicavit Juſtinianus." This work, which conſiſts of two volumes, written on thin vellum, was depoſited, ſays Mr. Gibbon, on the authority of Brenckman (*Hiſt. Pandect. Florent. l.* 1. *c.* x. xi. xii. *p.* 62. 93.) as a ſacred relic in a rich casket, in the ancient palace of the republic, now bound in purple, and shown to curious travellers by the monks and magiſtrates, bare headed and with lighted tapers.

(*a*) Firſt printed by Antonio Miſcomini at Florence, with the following ſingular colophon: *Impreſſit ex archetypo Antonius Miſcominus. Familiares quidam Politiani recognovere. Politianus ipſe nec Horthographian ſe ait, nec omnino alienam præſtare culpam.* FLORENTIÆ ANNO SALUTIS M.CCCC.LXXXIX. *Decimo tertio kalendas Octobris.* In 4°. This book, like all thoſe I have ſeen of the ſame printer, is moſt elegantly and correctly executed, and is a proof of the ſpeedy proficiency made in typography at Florence.

authors, we are alſo indebted to Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom Politiano was accuſtomed, as they rode out on horſeback, to repeat the various remarks which had occurred to him in his morning ſtudies (*a*). At the requeſt of Lorenzo, he was at length induced to commit them to paper, and to arrange them in order for the preſs. On their publication he inſcribed them to his great friend and benefactor; not, as he aſſures him, merely for the purpoſe of teſtifying his gratitude, for the aſſiſtance and advice which he had in the courſe of his work received from him, but that it might obtain favor, and derive authority, from the celebrity of his name (*b*).

The publication of this work ſoon afterwards led Politiano into a controverſy, in which he conducted himſelf with firmneſs and moderation, and which terminated greatly to his honor. Lodovico Sforza, anxious to throw a veil over the guilt of his uſurpation by an attention to the promotion of letters, had prevailed upon Giorgio Merula among other learned men, to eſtabliſh his reſidence at Milan, where he enjoyed an ample penſion from the duke. The character of Merula ſtood high for his acquirements in Latin literature (*c*); but neither

(*a*) *Pol. in præf. ad Miſcel.*

(*b*) Nec erunt opinor hæc quoque noſtra, quamquam levioris operis ſtudia, ſeu ludicra verius, dedecori tibi Laurenti Medices, cui nunc adſcribuntur. Adſcribuntur autem non magis adeo ut me gratum beneficiis tuis approbent, aut reponant gratiam, quod auxiliarium te, quodque conſiliarium habuerunt, quam ut auſpicato procedant, & ut in iis tui memoria frequentetur, ex quo liber auctoritatem capiens magni celebritate nominis commendetur. *Pol. in præf. ad Miſcell.*

(*b*) To Merula we are indebted for the firſt edition of the comedies

his proficiency in learning, nor his intercourſe with the great, nor even his advanced age, had ſoftened or improved a diſpoſition naturally jealous and auſtere. He had however ſingled out Politiano as the only perſon among the ſcholars of Italy who, in his opinion, poſſeſſed any ſhare of merit, and upon an interview which they had together at Milan, had acknowledged, that the reſtoration of the language of the ancient Romans depended upon his exertions (*a*). No ſooner, however, did

of Plautus, printed at Venice, *per Johannem de Colonia & Vindelinum de Spira*, 1472. He alſo corrected and commented on the works of Juvenal, of Martial, of Quintilian, of Auſonius, the *Scriptores de re ruſtica*, and other ancient authors; ſeveral of which have been published with his remarks. Merula was the diſciple of Filelfo, and like him was frequently engaged in thoſe acrimonious conteſts which perhaps promoted, whilſt they diſgraced, the cauſe of literature. One of theſe debates was with Galeotto Marzio, who, about the year 1468, wrote his treatiſe *De homine*, in the firſt book of which he deſcribes the exterior, and in the ſecond, the interior parts of man. This work Merula attacked with great bitterneſs, and with a conſiderable diſplay of critical ſagacity. The commentary of Merula was printed without date or place, and inſcribed to Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici; but as the author in his dedication refers to the eſtabliſhment of the academy at Piſa as a recent tranſaction, it was probably published about the year 1472. From this edition I ſhall give the dedication, as a ſtriking memorial of the early reputation which theſe illuſtrious brothers had acquired as patrons of learning (*v. App. No.* LIII.). In the copy before me, the critique on Galeotto is followed by a comment on an epiſtle of Sappho, inſcribed to M. Ant. Maurocenus, and by ſome obſervations on Virgil, addreſſed to Lodovico Gonzago, prince of Mantua. Some account of the life and labors of Merula may be found in *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. v.* vi. *part.* 1. *p.* 291. *Zeno. Diſſ. Voſſ. vol.* ii, *p.* 83.

(*a*) Meminiſti credo, quod in frequenti auditorio Venetiis, cum

the *Miſcellanea* of Politiano make their appearance, than Merula availed himſelf of an opportunity of demonſtrating his own ſuperiority by depreciating the labors of his rival; aſſerting that ſuch of the remarks of Politiano as were entitled to commendation, might be found in the critical works which he had himſelf previouſly publiſhed, or were in the memory of his pupils who had attended his public inſtructions (*a*). He even inſinuated that he had collected no inconſiderable number of groſs errors, which he might probably make public on ſome future occaſion. Politiano was ſoon apprized of this injurious treatment; and as he was not ſlow at reſenting an indignity, it it is probable that Merula would have experienced the weight of his reſentment, had no other conſiderations interpoſed. Merula ſtood high in the opinion of his patron, whilſt Politiano was known to live on terms of the cloſeſt intimacy with Lorenzo de' Medici. An open attack might therefore have compromiſed the name of Lorenzo, whoſe connexions with Lodovico were of too much importance to be endangered in a literary conteſt. Thus circumſtanced, Politiano adopted a more diſcrete and ſerious method of bringing on a diſcuſſion. He addreſſed a letter to the duke, entreating that he would exert his authority with Merula, to induce him to publiſh his criticiſms; at the ſame time tranſmitting for his peruſal a letter to Merula of ſimilar

ad me acceſſiſſes, palam dixerim, te illum eſſe, quem priſcæ & Romanæ doctrinæ inſtauratorem mihi pollicerer.

Mer. Ep. int. Ep. Pol. lib. xi. *Ep.* 5.

(*a*) *Ibid.*

import (*a*). Merula however refuſed either to retract the opinions which he had avowed, or to communicate to Politiano his remarks. In anſwer to a ſarcaſm, which Politiano might well have ſpared, he replies, "You reproach me with my grey "locks—I feel not their effects. I yet poſſeſs vigor "of mind and ſtrength of body; celerity of thought "and tenacity of memory; of theſe let Politiano "beware (*b*)." Several letters on this ſubject appear in the epiſtles of Politiano, and the conteſt was riſing to an extreme of violence, when Merula ſuddenly died. This event gave Politiano real concern, not only on account of the loſs of a man, of whoſe talents he entertained a high opinion, but as tending to deprive him ſtill more effectually of the opportunity of defending his work (*c*). Anxious however that nothing might be omitted which was neceſſary to the vindication of his character, he again addreſſed himſelf to the duke, with earneſt entreaties to tranſmit to him the criticiſms of Merula; but to no purpoſe. This formidable compoſition, if indeed it ever exiſted, was reduced to a few looſe and unimportant obſervations. The letters of Lodovico, which are remarkable for their kindneſs and attention to Politiano, ſeem however at length to have ſatisfied his reſtleſs apprehenſions. "You can have no reaſon, "Angelo," ſays the duke, "to fear any injury to "your reputation from the ſuppreſſion of the

(*a*) *Pol. Epiſt. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 1, 2.
(*b*) *Merulæ Ep. inter Ep. Pol. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 5.
(*c*) *Pol. Epiſt. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 11.

" remarks of Merula, as this cannot be attributed " to you, who, ſo far from wiſhing to conceal " them, have uſed your utmoſt endeavours with " us to lay them before the public; of which " the preſent letter may ſerve as a teſtimony (*a*)."

The inſtitution of public ſeminaries for promoting the knowledge of the ancient languages, the reſpect paid to thoſe who undertook the taſk of inſtruction, and the ample compenſation they derived, not only from the liberality of individuals, but from the public at large, powerfully co-operated with the cauſes before mentioned in infuſing a juſt taſte for claſſical literature. Of the eſtabliſhment of the academy at Piſa, by the exertions of Lorenzo de' Medici, a brief account has before been given (*b*); but his attention to the cauſe of learning was by no means confined to this inſtitution. The ſtudies at Piſa were chiefly reſtricted to the Latin language, or to thoſe ſciences of which it was the principal vehicle; but it was at Florence only that the Greek tongue was inculcated under the ſanction of a public inſtitution, either by native Greeks, or learned Italians who were their powerful competitors, whoſe ſervices were procured by the diligence of Lorenzo de' Medici, and repaid by his bounty (*c*).

(*a*) *Pol. Epiſt. lib.* xi. *Ep.* 21.

(*b*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 156.

(*c*) Ille animadvertens jam tum litteras circa exitum laborare, Piſis Scholas litterarum Latinarum, Florentiæ Græcarum inſtituit; viros doctiſſimos aere ſuo ac magno undecumque accerſiit, ſtudioſos & fovit, & juvit, nec prius in hoc elaborare deſtitit, quam ita reſtitueret, ut non facile iterum ad id precipitium pervenire poſſent.

Caii Silvani Germanici Ep. ad Leonem X. *v. Band. Cat. v.* ii. *p.* 117.

Hence

Hence ſucceeding ſcholars have been profuſe of their acknowledgments to their great patron, who firſt formed that eſtabliſhment, from which (to uſe their own ſcholaſtic figure) as from the Trojan horſe, ſo many illuſtrious champions have ſprung, and by means of which the knowledge of the Greek tongue was extended, not only through all Italy, but through France, Spain, Germany, and England, from all which countries numerous pupils attended at Florence, who diffuſed the learning they had there acquired throughout the reſt of Europe (*a*).

Of this inſtitution the firſt public profeſſor was the eminent Johannes Argyropylus, who, after having enjoyed for ſeveral years the favor and protection of Coſmo and Piero de' Medici, and having had a principal ſhare in the education of Lorenzo, was ſelected by him as the perſon beſt qualified to give inſtructions on the Greek tongue. Of the diſciples of Argyropylus, Politiano, if not the moſt diligent, was the moſt ſucceſsful. With the precepts which he imbibed, he acquired a predilection for the ſource from whence they

Florentiam quoque & Latinis & Græcis litteris clariſſime inſignivit, exquiſitis atque ingentibus etiam præmiis allectis utriuſque facultatis viris omnium judicio peritiſſimis.

Raph. Brandolini Ep. ad Leonem X. *v. Band. v.* ii. *p.* 371. *Plut.* xlvi. *Cod.* 2.

(*a*) Quo fane tempore Florentiæ, veluti in celeberrimo totius orbis theatro, eruditiſſimi viri, tanquam ex equo Trojano innumerabiles proceres, ſeſe in orbem terrarum effuderunt. Quamobrem non modo Italia, ſed etiam Gallia, Hiſpania, Germania, & Britannia hujuſmodi beneficium Medicum familiæ acceptum referunt.

Petri Angelii Epiſt. ap. Band. Cat. ii. 397.

flowed; and his writings diſcover numerous inſtances of his affection and veneration for the man who firſt opened to him the treaſures of Grecian literature. To the unlimited applauſe beſtowed by the ſcholar on the maſter, one exception only occurs. Argyropylus had profeſſed an open hoſtility to the reputation of Cicero, whom he repreſented as a ſciolift in the Greek tongue, and as unacquainted with the tenets of the different ſects of philoſophy, to which ſo many of his writings relate. The acuteneſs of Argyropylus, and the influence of his authority, degraded in the eſtimation of his pupils the character of the Roman orator; and Politiano, in his riper years, ſeems to ſhudder at the recollection of the time when the ignorance of Tully was a matter taken for granted by him and his fellow-ſtudents (*a*). During the long reſidence of Argyropylus in Italy he had acquired an extenſive knowledge of the Latin language—a ſpecies of praiſe to which few of his countrymen are entitled. His tranſlations into Latin of various tracts of Ariſtotle, are, for the moſt part, inſcribed to his ſucceſſive patrons of the family of the Medici, in language expreſſive of his reſpect and gratitude (*b*). Among his auditors

(*a*) Et ut homo erat omnium (ut tum quidem videbatur) acerrimus in diſputando, atque aurem (quod ait Perſius) mordaci lotus aceto, præterea verborum quoque noſtrorum funditator maximus, facile id vel nobis vel ceteris, tum quidem ſuis ſectatoribus perſuaſerat: ita ut, (quod pene dictu quoque nefas) pro conceſſo inter nos haberetur, nec philoſophiam ſciſſe M. Tullium, nec litteras Græcas.

Pol. in Miſcel. cap. 1.

(*b*) *Band. Cat. Bibl. Laur. v.* iii. *p.* 3, 4. 234. 242. 359, *&c.*

we find Donato Acciajuoli, Janus Pannonius, and the German prelate Johannes Reuchlinus, who having had the ſingular good fortune to obtain ſome previous knowledge of the Greek tongue, diſplayed, it is ſaid, on his firſt interview with Argyropylus, ſuch an acquaintance with it, as induced the Greek to exclaim with a ſigh, "*Alas*, "*Greece is already baniſhed beyond the Alps* (*a*)."

To the induſtry of Argyropylus, and the excellence of his precepts, his diſciple Acciajuoli has borne ample teſtimony; affirming, that whilſt he inculcated his doctrines, the times of the ancient philoſophers ſeemed to be again renewed (*b*). If however we may give credit to the teſtimony of Paulus Jovius, the precepts and the practice of Argyropylus were not entirely conſiſtent with each other; and the obeſity of his figure, which was ſupported by an immoderate ſupply of food and wine, ſeemed to mark him out as belonging to a different ſect of philoſophers (*c*). But the biſhop of Nocera had too many paſſions to gratify, to permit him to perform the part of a faithful his-

(*a*) *Hodius de Græc. illuſt. p.* 201.

(*b*) Cum poſt interitum quorundam doctiſſimorum hominum, ſtudia Florentina magna ex parte remiſſa viderentur, venit in hanc urbem Argyropylus Byzantius, vir ingenio præſtans ſummuſque philoſophus, ut juventutem litteris græcis ac bonis artibus erudiret: jamque plures annos doctrinam tradidit nobis tanta copia, tam multiplicibus variiſque ſermonibus, ut viſus ſit temporibus noſtris veterum philoſophorum memoriam renovare. *Acciaiol. ap. Hod. de Græcis*, 202.

(*c*) Vini & cibi æque avidus & capax, & multo abdomine ventricoſus, immodico melopeponum eſu autumnalem acceſſivit febrem, atque ita ſeptuageſimo ætatis anno ereptus eſt. *Jovii Elog.* XXVIII.

torian, and there are few of his characters that are not discolored or distorted by the medium through which they are seen. The same authors attributes the death of Argyropylus to the intemperate use of melons, which brought on an autumnal fever, that put a period to his life in the seventieth year of his age. This event took place at Rome, where he had fixed his residence some time previous to the year 1471 (*a*).

After an interval of a few years, during which there is reason to believe that the office of public Greek professor at Florence was filled by Theodorus Gaza, and not by Politiano, as asserted by Jovius, the loss of Argyropylus was supplied by Demetrius Chalcondyles, who was invited by Lorenzo de' Medici to take upon himself that employment about the year 1479 (*b*). It is generally understood that an enmity subsisted between Politiano and Chalcondyles, in consequence of which the latter

(*a*) *Hodius de Græc. illust. p.* 198. where the author has given a translation of the Greek epigram of Politiano, expressing his earnest wishes for the return of Argyropylus to Florence.

(*b*) Demetrius Chalcondyles, diligens grammaticus, & supra græcorum mores, cum nihil in eo fallaciarum aut fuci notaretur, vir utique lenis & probus, scholam Florentiæ instauravit, desertam ab Argyropylo, & a Politiano, deficientibus græcis occupatam. *Jov. Elog.* xxix. This information, if not refuted, is rendered highly problematical by the Greek epigram written by Politiano to Chalcondyles, on his arrival at Florence, in which he considers him as the successor of Gaza, and as supplying the maternal office of nourishing the unfledged offspring of literature, deserted by their former parent. A mode of expression not likely to be used by Politiano to a man who was to supersede him in his office of public instructor. A translation of this epigram is given by Hody, *p.* 211.

was eventually under the neceſſity of quitting Florence, whence he retired to Milan; but for this opinion the only authority is that of Jovius, and of thoſe who have implicitly confided in his relation (*a*). This author, always hoſtile to the character of Politiano, would induce us to believe, that the Italian ſcholar, actuated by his jealouſy of the Greek, and availing himſelf of his ſuperior wit and eloquence, endeavoured to injure Chalcondyles by drawing off his pupils, and engaging them in his own auditory; and that Lorenzo de' Medici, as well in order to remove the cauſes of their contention, as to avail himſelf of their mutual emulation, divided between them the taſk of educating his children. It may however be obſerved that no traces of this diſſenſion are to be found in the narrative of any contemporary author; and that although the known iraſcibility of Politiano, and his acknowledged animoſity to the Greeks, may ſeem to ſtrengthen the credit of Jovius, yet theſe circumſtances become, on further conſideration, the moſt deciſive evidence of his want of authenticity. The antipathies of Politiano were never concealed; and his letters, which extend nearly to the time of his death, contain many inſtances of that vehemence with which he attacked all thoſe who he conceived had given him juſt cauſe

(*a*) Boiſſard, Baillet, Varillas, &c. The diſſenſions between Politiano and Chalcondyles have alſo engaged much of the attention of Menckenius, *Ang. Pol. vita, p.* 65. and of Bayle, *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Politien*, who have doubted of the veracity of the narrative of Jovius, without adducing that evidence of its improbability which a more minute examination would have ſupplied.

of offence; but of any diſſenſions with Chalcondyles no memorial is to be found. On the contrary, Chalcondyles is frequently noticed, both by the Italian ſcholar and his correſpondents, as living with him in habits of intimacy (*a*). The reſt of the information derived from Jovius is equally futile. The uninterrupted affection that ſubſiſted between Lorenzo and Politiano, would have prevented the former from adopting a meaſure which the latter could only have conſidered as an impeachment of his talents; but independent of inferences drawn from this ſource, we have poſitive evidence, that however the children of Lorenzo might attend the incidental inſtructions of others, Politiano had the conſtant ſuperintendence of their education, and was addreſſed on all occaſions as the ſole perſon honored with that important truſt (*b*).

From the Florentine inſtitution, it is not difficult to diſcover the progreſs of Grecian literature to the reſt of Europe; but the traces of the channels by which it was conveyed are in no inſtance more conſpicuous than in thoſe which communicated

(*a*) In the year 1491, being only the year previous to the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Pomponius Lætus writes to Politiano, "Commenda me Medicibus patri & liberis litterarum patronis. Deinde plurima ſalute Demetrium impertias." To which Politiano replies, "Medices noſtri unice tibi favent. Demetrius autem ſalutem ſibi à te dictam totidem verbis remuneratur. In Feſulano ſexto idus Auguſti, MCCCCXCI." *Pol. Ep. lib.* i. *Ep.* 17, 18.

(*b*) Thus Lod. Odaxius ad Pol. "Demetrium vero virum eruditiſſimum, Petrumque in primis *diſcipulum tuum*, elegantiſſimæ atque ampliſſimæ ſpei adoleſcentem, nomine meo ſalvos facito."

Pol. Ep. lib. iii. *Ep.* 3.

with this country. William Grocin (*a*), who was for ſome years profeſſor of Greek literature in the univerſity of Oxford, had made a journey to Italy and had reſided for the ſpace of two years at Florence, where he attended the inſtructions of Chalcondyles and of Politiano. Thomas Linacer (*b*), whoſe name deſervedly holds the firſt rank among the early Engliſh ſcholars, availed himſelf of a ſimilar opportunity; and, during his abode at Florence, was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of his manners and his ſingular modeſty, that he is ſaid to have been ſelected by Lorenzo de' Medici as the aſſociate of his children in their ſtudies (*c*).

Such were the cauſes that in the fifteenth century concurred to promote the ſtudy of the ancient languages in Italy; but one circumſtance yet remains to be noticed, which was perhaps more efficacious than any other in giving life and energy to theſe purſuits. An acquaintance with the learned languages was, at this period, the moſt direct path, not only to riches and literary fame, but to political eminence; and the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars were, in almoſt every government of Italy, the firſt

(*a*) Nam & Grocinum memini, virum ut ſcis multifaria doctrina magno quoque & exercitato ingenio, his ipſis litteris duos continuos annos, etiam poſt prima illa rudimenta, ſolidam operam dediſſe; idque ſub ſummis doctoribus Demetrio Chalcondyla & Angelo Politiano.

Guil. Latimer. in Ep. ad Eraſm. ap. Menck. in vitâ Polit.

(*b*) Linacrum item acri ingenio virum, totidem aut etiam plures annos ſub iiſdem præceptoribus impendiſſe. *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Jovii Elog.* lxiii.

miniſters of the time. This aroſe in a great degree from the very general uſe of the Latin tongue, in the negotiations of different ſtates, which rendered it almoſt impoſſible for any perſon to undertake the management of public affairs, without an habitual acquaintance with that language; but this was more particularly exemplified in Florence, where the moſt permanent officers were uniformly ſelected on account of their learning. During a long courſe of years the place of ſecretary, or chancellor of the republic, (for theſe terms ſeem to have been indiſcriminately uſed,) was filled by ſcholars of the firſt diſtinction. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was held by Coluccio Salutati, who had been the intimate friend of Petrarca and of Boccaccio, and is denominated by Poggio, "*The common father and inſtructor of all* "*the learned* (*a*)." He was ſucceeded by Leonardo Aretino, whoſe ſervices to the republic were repaid by many privileges and favors conferred on himſelf and his deſcendants (*b*). After the death of Leonardo, this office was given to Carlo Marſuppini (*c*), and was afterwards ſucceſſively held by Poggio Bracciolini (*d*), and Benedetto Accolti (*e*). During a great part of the time that the affairs of Florence were directed by Lorenzo de' Medici, the chancellor of the Republic was Bartolomeo

(*a*) *v. ante, p.* 59. Salutati died about the year 1410.
(*b*) *v. ante, v.* I. *p.* 22.
(*c*) *Ibid.*
(*d*) *Ibid. p.* 26.
(*e*) *Ibid. p.* 93.

Scala, whoſe life affords the beſt example of the honors and emoluments which were derived from the cultivation of literature. Scala deduced his origin from parents of the loweſt rank, nor did he poſſeſs from his birth even the privileges of a Florentine citizen (*a*). An early proficiency in letters recommended him to the notice of Coſmo de' Medici; and it was the pride of Scala to avow the meanneſs of his birth, and the obligations which he owed to his earlieſt patron (*b*). The loſs of Coſmo was amply compenſated to Scala by the favor of his deſcendants, through whoſe aſſiſtance he gradually roſe to honors and to affluence, and in the year 1472 was intruſted with the ſeal of the republic. In imitation of his predeceſſors in this office, Scala began a hiſtory of Florence, of which he lived to complete only four books (*c*). His apologues are highly commended by

(*a*) E Io Scala, figliuol d'un mulinaro,
Ovver d'un teſſitor di panni lini,
Che colle ſue virtù ſi fece chiaro,
E fu Gonfalonier de' Fiorentini,
Cavalier a Spron d'oro, e non avaro,
Tanto è, voi m'intendete cittadini,
Non s'ha queſti a chiamar nobile e degno,
Che acquiſtò roba, onor, virtute, e ingegno?

L'Altiſſimo, in Bart. Scalæ vita a Mannio. Flor. 1768.

(*b*) Veni nudus omnium rerum bonarum, egenus ad Remp. viliſſimis ortus parentibus, multa cum fide, nullis omnino divitiis, aut titulis, nullis clientelis, nullis cognationibus. Coſmus tamen Pater patriæ noſtræ me complexus eſt, recepitque in familiæ obſequia, &c.

Scalæ Ep. inter. Pol. Ep. lib. xii. *Ep.* 16.

(*c*) Hos edere Joannes Cinellius paraverat, ſed id contigit Oligero Jacobæi, ope Cl. Magliabechii, ſumptibus Nicolai Angeli Tinaſſi, anno MDCLXXVII. *Manni, vita Bart. Scalæ, p.* 47.

Landino and Ficino. Of his poetry, ſpecimens remain both in the Latin and Italian languages, and the former have obtained a place in the celebrated collection of the Latin poems of his illuſtrious countrymen (*a*). Conſidering the proverbial uncertainty of public favor, the life of Scala may be eſteemed a life of unuſual proſperity. He tranſacted the concerns of the republic with acknowledged fidelity, induſtry, and ability; arrived at the higheſt dignities of the ſtate; amaſſed wealth; ranked with men of learning; and left at his death a numerous progeny to inherit his riches and his reſpectability. In his controverſy with Politiano, he appears however as a ſcholar to manifeſt diſadvantage; but the impetuoſity of his adverſary hurried him into a conteſt which it is evident he would willingly have avoided, and in which every effort to extricate himſelf only brought down a ſeverer chaſtiſement.

From the epiſtles of Politiano it appears, that for ſome time theſe angry diſputants had ſhared the favor of Lorenzo de' Medici without diſcovering any ſymptoms of jealouſy; and had even been in the habit of ſubmitting to each other their literary works for mutual correction. Scala, however, having diſcovered, or ſuſpected, that Lorenzo had employed Politiano to reviſe the letters which he had written in the execution of his office, as chancellor of the republic, began to entertain a ſecret enmity againſt his rival, and omitted no

(*a*) *Carm. illuſt. Poet. Ital.* v. viii. *p.* 489.

opportunity of depreciating his writings (*a*). Politiano was no ſooner aware that his literary reputation was attacked, than he gave a looſe to feelings which it is probable he had before with difficulty ſuppreſſed; and notwithſtanding the rank and reſpectability of Scala, addreſſed him in a ſtyle that ſhows the high opinion which he entertained of his own talents, and his contempt of thoſe of his adverſary. Alluding in one of his letters to the parentage of Scala, he gives him the appellation of *monſtrum furfuraceum*. In another, he honors him with a comment on this title (*b*). To the boaſting of Scala, reſpecting the approbation expreſſed of him by Lorenzo, he returns an anſwer which in theſe days (whether more poliſhed or more barbarous, the reader may determine) could only have been expiated in the blood of one of the diſputants (*c*). In this tranſaction it muſt be allowed that Politiano ſuffered himſelf to be carried beyond all reaſonable bounds, and forgot that reſpect which he owed, if not to the character of his opponent, at leaſt to his own dignity and

(*a*) Scis autem tu quoque litteras illum (Laurentium) ſæpe tuas publice ſcriptas rejeciſſe, nobiſque dediſſe formandas, quæ prima odii livoriſque in me tui cauſa extitit. *Pol. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 18.

(*b*) At ego *monſtrum* te vocavi *furfuraceum;* monſtrum quidem, quod ex colluvione monſtrorum compoſitus eſt, furfuraceum vero quod in piſtrini ſordibus natus, & quidem piſtrino digniſſimus. *Ibid.*

(*c*) "Extat," thus Scala writes to Politiano, "& illa de me "Laurentii Medicis præclariſſima vox, qua nuſquam collocatum melius "fuiſſe honorem homini novo teſtificatus eſt." *Lib.* xii. *Ep.* 16. To which Politiano laconically replies, "De Coſmo quæ jactas, deque "Laurentio Medice, *falſa omnia*." *Ibid. Ep.* 18.

reputation. It may perhaps be thought that Lorenzo de' Medici ought to have interpoſed his authority to ſuppreſs a conteſt which contributed ſo little to the credit of the parties, but it was not till after the death of Lorenzo that the diſpute became ſo outrageous. It muſt be obſerved that Menckenius, the hiſtorian of Politiano, has on this occaſion attributed to the expreſſions of Scala, an import which it is certain they were not intended to convey (*a*).

If the circumſtances before related were not

(*a*) In the early part of the quarrel, Scala has the following paſſage, in a letter to Politiano: "Tu certe præter ceteros, mi Politiane, "naturæ multum debes, illa tibi ingenium iſtud dedit: ut corporis "modo prætermittam dotes, quæ nonnihil & ipſæ habere a quibuſdam "putantur momenti ad felicitatem & fortunæ commoda: quæ profecto "juvare nativam virtutem, niſi ipſa ſeſe deſerat, vehementer ſolent. "Cæcus ſit funditus qui hæc non viderit." "Si quid video (ſay Menckenius) "ſunt & hæc per ludibrium forſan & per invidiam a "Scala dicta, ut obſcœnos Politiani mores perſtringeret, quaſi is "nempe corporis ſui copiam principi juventuti fecerit, ſemper ita "amantes ſtudioſoſque ſui Medicæos habiturus. Ut adeo mirari vix "ſatis poſſim, non ſenſiſſe hos aculeos nec his quidquam repoſuiſſe "Politianum, &c." In ſuppoſing he could ſee ſo much clearer into the concerns of Politiano than Politiano himſelf, Menckenius is miſtaken; it certainly never came into the head of either of the diſputants, that this paſſage contained any inſinuation of the nature alluded to by Menckenius. Giuliano de' Medici had been dead many years, nor had he in his lifetime given room for ſuch an imputation; and at all events there is no probability that Scala would have hazarded the moſt remote inſinuation of this kind, againſt a family on whoſe favor he exiſted, to ſay nothing of the inattention with which Politiano treats this paſſage, which he certainly conſidered only as a piece of ridicule on his *wry neck* and *hooked noſe*, and as ſuch thought it below his attention.

ſufficiently characteriſtic of the ſpirit of the times we might advert to the other governments of Italy; where we ſhould find, that offices of the higheſt truſt and confidence were often filled by men who quitted the ſuperintendence of an academy, or the chair of a profeſſor, to tranſact the affairs of a nation. Alfonſo, king of Naples, and Franceſco Sforza, contended in liberality with each other, to ſecure the ſervice of Beccatelli (*a*). Pontano was the confidential adviſer, and frequently the repreſentative to other powers, of Ferdinand, the ſon of Alfonſo (*b*). The brothers of the family

(*a*) *Zeno, Diſſ. Voſſ.* v. i. *p.* 309. *& vide ante*, v. I. *p.* 53.

(*b*) Giovanni Pontano, or according to the academical appellation which he adopted, Jovianus Pontanus, was a native of Cerreto, in Umbria, but when young and friendleſs took up his reſidence at Naples. His learning recommended him to Alfonſo, and afterwards to Ferdinando; by whom he was intruſted with the higheſt offices of the ſtate. Beſides his undertaking many important embaſſies, Pontano was chief ſecretary to the king, and on one occaſion his repreſentative as viceroy of Naples. As a ſcholar he was the only perſon of the age whoſe productions can contend for ſuperiority with thoſe of Politiano. His poems were published by Aldus in two volumes, 1513. 1518. His proſe works in three volumes, 1518, 1519. Among the latter, is a treatiſe *De ingratitudine*, in which he aſſumes the merit of having been inſtrumental in concluding peace between Ferdinand and the pope, and gives a looſe to his exultation in having rendered his king ſo important a ſervice; but alas, Pontano lived to give the fulleſt comment on his treatiſe in his own conduct. For although he enjoyed the favor of the family of Arragon for nearly half a century, yet when Charles VIII. of France, in the year 1495, ſeized upon the kingdom of Naples, and aſſumed the emblems of royalty, Pontano, in the name of the Neapolitans, made the public oration to him, and took care not to forget the defects of his royal patrons, with which he had the beſt opportunities of being acquainted. *Zeno, Diſſ. Voſſ.*

of Simoneta directed for a conſiderable time the affairs of Milan (*a*). Bernardo Bembo, and Franceſco Barbaro, maintained the literary, no leſs than the political dignity of the Venetian Republic, and left each of them a ſon who eclipſed the reputation of his father (*b*). When eminent talents were not engaged in public ſervices, they were rewarded by the moſt flattering attention, and often by the pecuniary bounty of illuſtrious individuals, who relaxed from the faſtidiouſneſs of rank, in the company of men of learning, or have left memorials of their regard by their epiſtolary correſpondence.

Nor was it ſeldom that the characters of the ſcholar, and of the man of rank, were united in the ſame perſon. Of this Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, to whom we have before frequently adverted, is perhaps the moſt illuſtrious inſtance. This accompliſhed nobleman, of whom many extraordinary circumſtances are related, and who certainly exhibited a wonderful example of the powers of the human mind, was born at Mirandula in the year 1463, and was one of the younger children of Giovan-Franceſco Pico, prince of Mirandula and Concordia (*c*). So quick was his

v. ii. *p.* 172. *Guicciard. Iſt. d'Italia, lib.* ii. Pontano died in 1603. at the age of 77 years.

(*a*) *vide ante, v.* I. *p.* 178.

(*b*) Ermolao Barbaro, patriarch of Aquileia, and the cardinal Pietro Bembo, both of whom will again occur to our notice in the courſe of the work.

(*c*) Voltaire, who erroneouſly gives Pico the name of Jean-François, is alſo miſtaken in relating that he reſigned the ſovereignty of Mirandula

apprehenſion, ſo retentive his memory, that we are told a ſingle recital was ſufficient to fix in his mind whatever became the object of his attention. After having ſpent ſeven years in the moſt celebrated univerſities of Italy and France, he arrived at Rome in the twenty-firſt year of his age, with the reputation of being acquainted with twenty-two different languages (*a*). Eager to ſignalize himſelf as a diſputant, Pico propoſed for public debate nine hundred queſtions, on mathematical, theological, and ſcholaſtic ſubjects, including alſo inquiries into the moſt abſtruſe points of the Hebraic, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues (*b*). This

to reſide at Florence. *Eſſai, tom.* ii. *p.* 296. *Ed. Gen.* Pico neither enjoyed nor had any pretenſions to the ſovereignty, which, after the death of his father, devolved on his elder brother Galeotto, and afterwards on his nephew Giovan-Franceſco; by whom we have a voluminous life of his uncle, written in Latin, and prefixed to his works, which, whilſt it affords much information reſpecting this extraordinary man, diſplays a deplorable degree of ſuperſtition in the author. The mother of Pico was of the family of Boyardo the poet.

(*a*) "Cela," ſays Voltaire very juſtly, "n'eſt certainement pas "dans le cours ordinaire de la nature. Il n'y a point de langue qui "ne demande environ une année pour la bien ſavoir. Quiconque "dans une ſi grande jeuneſſe en ſait vingt deux, peut être ſoupçonné "de les ſavoir bien mal, ou plutôt il en ſait les elemens, ce qui eſt "ne rien ſavoir." *Eſſai, ut ſup.*

(*b*) Voltaire, not ſatisfied with theſe 900 queſtions, has increaſed their number to 1400; and informs us that they may be found at the head of the works of Pico. *Eſſai, ut ſup.* It is to be wished that he had pointed out in what edition of the works of Pico he had diſcovered theſe queſtions; for the exiſtence of which he ſeems to have had the ſame authority as he had for ſuppoſing that the learning of thoſe days conſiſted merely in an acquaintance with the ſophiſms of the ſchoolmen, or that the ſciences were then held in contempt by

meaſure, which in its worſt light could only be conſidered as an ebullition of youthful vanity, might, without any great injuſtice, have been ſuffered to evaporate in neglect; but the Romiſh prelates, inſtead of conſigning theſe propoſitions to their fate, or debating them with the impartiality of philoſophers, began to examine them with the ſuſpicious eyes of churchmen, and ſelected thirteen of them as heretical. To vindicate himſelf from this dangerous imputation, Pico compoſed a Latin treatiſe of conſiderable extent, which he is ſaid to have written in the ſpace of twenty days, and which he inſcribed to Lorenzo de' Medici, under whoſe protection he had ſheltered himſelf from perſecution at Florence (*a*). The character and acquirements of Pico afforded to his contemporaries a ſubject for the moſt unbounded panegyric. "He was a man," ſays Politiano, "or rather a hero, on whom nature had laviſhed "all the endowments both of body and mind; "erect and elegant in his perſon, there was ſome-"thing in his appearance almoſt divine. Of a "perſpicacious mind, a wonderful memory, in-"defatigable in ſtudy, diſtinct and eloquent in

princes and men of eminence. Aſſertions unworthy of an author who profeſſes to write *ſur les mœurs & l'eſprit de nations.*

(*a*) *Apologia tredecim quæſtionum.* This treatiſe was published with the other Latin works of Pico, at Venice, *per Bernardinum Venetum*, an. MCCCCLXXXXVIII. in folio, from which edition I ſhall give the dedication of the *Apologia*, as it is ſtrongly expreſſive of the eſteem and admiration of its author, for Lorenzo de' Medici.

v. App. No. LIV.

"ſpeech,

" ſpeech, it ſeems doubtful whether he was more " conſpicuous for his talents or his virtues. In- " timately converſant with every department of " philoſophy, improved and invigorated by the " knowledge of various languages, and of every " honorable ſcience, it may truly be ſaid, that " no commendation is equal to his praiſe."

The inſtances before given of the critical talents of Pico, whatever may be thought of their accuracy, will at leaſt juſtify him from the reproof of Voltaire, who is of opinion that the works of Dante and Petrarca would have been a more ſuitable ſtudy for him, than the ſummary of St. Thomas, or the compilations of Albert the great (*a*). But the literary purſuits of Pico were not confined to commentaries upon the works of others. From the ſpecimens which remain of his poetical compoſitions in his native language, there is reaſon to form a favorable judgment of thoſe which have periſhed. Creſcimbeni confeſſes, that by his early death the Tuſcan poetry ſuſtained a heavy loſs, and that his accompliſhed pen might have reſcued it from its degraded ſtate, without the intervention of ſo many other eminent men, whoſe labors had been employed to the ſame purpoſe (*b*). The few pieces which remain of his Latin poetry induce us to regret the ſeverity of their author. Theſe poems he had arranged in five books, which he ſubmitted to the correction of Politiano, who, having performed his taſk, returned them to their author, with an elegant apology for

(*a*) *Volt. Eſſai, tom.* ii. *p.* 296.

(*b*) *Creſcimb. Iſt. della volgar poeſia, v.* ii. *p.* 336.

the freedoms which he had taken (*a*). Soon afterwards Pico committed his five books to the flames, to the great regret of Politiano, who has perpetuated this incident by a Greek epigram (*b*). If the works thus deſtroyed were equal in merit to his Latin elegy addreſſed to Girolamo Benivieni, poſterity have reaſon to lament the loſs (*c*).

Among the circumſtances favorable to the promotion of letters in the fifteenth century, another yet remains to be noticed, which it would be unpardonable to omit; and which, if it did not greatly contribute towards their progreſs, certainly tended, not only to render the ſtudy of languages more general, but to remove the idea that the acquiſition of them was attended with any extraordinary difficulty. This was the partiality ſhown to theſe ſtudies, and the proficiency made in them, by women, illuſtrious by their birth, or eminent for their perſonal accompliſhments. Among theſe, Aleſſandra, the daughter of Bartolomeo Scala was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. The extraordinary beauty of her perſon was ſurpaſſed by the endowments of her mind. At an early age ſhe was a proficient, not only in the Latin, but the Greek tongue (*d*), which ſhe had ſtudied under Joannes

(*a*) Neque ego judicis (ita me ſemper ames) ſed Momi perſonam indui, quem ferunt ſandalium Veneris tandem culpaſſe, cum Venerem non poſſet. Confodi igitur verſiculos aliquos, non quod eos improbarem, ſed quod tanquam equeſtris ordinis, cedere reliquis, veluti ſenatoribus videbantur atque patriciis. *Pol. Ep. lib.* i. *Ep.* 4.

(*b*) *Ibid. lib.* i. *Ep.* 7.

(*c*) Opere di Benivieni, *p.* 75. *Ed. Ven.* 1524.

(*d*) Some of the Greek poems of Aleſſandra appear in the works

Laſcar and Demetrius Chalcondyles. Such an union of excellence attracted the attention, and is ſuppoſed to have engaged the affections of Politiano; but Aleſſandra gave her hand to the Greek Marullus, who enjoyed at Florence the favor of Lorenzo de' Medici, and in the elegance of his Latin compoſitions, emulated the Italians themſelves (*a*). Hence probably aroſe thoſe diſſen-

of Politiano. *Ed. Ald.* 1498. And Politiano is ſuppoſed to have addreſſed to this Lady ſeveral of his amorous verſes.

(*a*) The works of Marullus were published at Florence, under the title of HYMNI ET EPIGRAMMATA. At the cloſe we read, *Impreſſit Florentiæ Societas Colubris* v. *kal. Decembris*, MCCCCLXXXXVII. His epigrams are inſcribed to Lorenzo, the ſon of Pier-Franceſco de' Medici. The following lines to the father of his miſtreſs poſſeſs no inconſiderable ſhare of elegance:

AD BARTHOLOMEUM SCALAM.

Cum muſæ tibi debeant latinæ
Tot junctо pede ſcripta, tot ſoluto
Tot ſales latio lepore tinctos,
Tot cultis documenta ſub figuris,
Tot volumina patriæ dicata,
Quæ nulli taceant diu minores,
Tot prætoria jura, tot curules,
Tot faſces proprio labore partos:
Plus multo tamen, o beate amice eſt
Quod Scalam Latio pater dediſti.
Aucturam numerum novem ſororum,
Caſto carmine caſtiore vita.

The three books of Hymns of Marullus are addreſſed, not to the objects of Chriſtian worship, but to the Pagan deities, or the phenomena of nature, whence, perhaps, the remark of Eraſmus; "Marulli "pauca legi, tolerabilia, ſi minus haberent paganitatis."

ſions between Marullus and Politiano, the monuments of which yet remain in their writings (*a*).

Of yet greater celebrity is the name of Caſſandra Fidelis. Deſcended from anceſtors who had changed their reſidence from Milan to Venice, and had uniformly added to the reſpectability of their rank by their uncommon learning, ſhe began at an early age to proſecute her ſtudies with great diligence, and acquired ſuch a knowledge of the learned languages, that ſhe may with juſtice be enumerated among the firſt ſcholars of the age (*b*). The letters which occaſionally paſſed between Caſſandra and Politiano demonſtrate their mutual eſteem, if indeed ſuch expreſſion be ſufficient to characterize the feelings of Politiano, who expreſſes in language unuſually florid, his high admiration of her extraordinary acquirements, and his expectation of the benefits which the cauſe of letters would derive from her labors and example (*c*). In

(*a*) Among the epigrams of Politiano are ſeveral of the moſt outrageous kind, againſt ſome perſon whom he attacks under the name of *Mabilius;* and in the poems of Marullus are ſome pieces, little inferior in abuſe, of which *Ecnomus* is the ſubject. Under theſe masks it is ſuppoſed, and not without reaſon, that theſe rival ſcholars directed their ſhafts at each other.

(*b*) The letters and orations of this lady were published at *Pavia* in 1636, by Jac. Ph. Tomaſini, who has prefixed to them ſome account of her life.

(*c*) " O decus Italiæ, virgo, quas dicere grates, quaſve referre " parem, quod etiam honore me tuarum literarum non dedignaris? " mira profecto fides, tales proficiſci à femina, quid autem à femina " dico, imò verò à puella & virgine potuiſſe, &c." " Tibi verò tanta " incepta Deus optimus maximus fecundet: & cum receſſeris à

the year 1491; the Florentine ſcholar made a viſit to Venice, where the favorable opinion which he had formed of her writings was confirmed by a perſonal interview. "Yeſterday," ſays he, writing to his great patron, "I paid a viſit to the celebrated Caſſandra, to whom I preſented your reſpects. "She is indeed, Lorenzo, a ſurpriſing woman, as "well from her acquirements in her own language, as in the Latin; and in my opinion ſhe "may be called handſome. I left her, aſtoniſhed "at her talents. She is much devoted to your "intereſts, and ſpeaks of you with great eſteem. "She even avows her intention of viſiting you at "Florence, ſo that you may prepare yourſelf to "give her a proper reception (*a*)." From a letter of this lady, many years afterwards, to Leo X. we learn, that an epiſtolary correſpondence had ſubſiſted between her and Lorenzo de' Medici (*b*); and it is with concern we perceive that the remembrance of this intercourſe is revived, in order to induce the pontiff to beſtow upon her ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance; ſhe being then a widow, with a numerous train of dependants. She lived however to a far more advanced period, and died in the year 1558, having then completed a full

"parentibus, is autor contingat, & conſors qui ſit iſta virtute non "indignus: ut quæ nunc propemodum ſua ſponte naturalis ingenii "flamma ſemel emicuit, ita crebris deinceps aut audita flatibus, aut "enutrita fomitibus effulgeat, ut a noſtrorum hominum præcordiis "animoque, nox omnis, geluque, penitus & languoris in litteris & "inſcitiæ diſcutiatur." *Pol. Ep. int. Caſſ. Fid. Ep.* 101.

(*a*) *v. Pol. Ep. in App. No.* LI.

(*b*) *Caſſ. Fidelis. Ep.* 123.

century. Her literary acquirements, and the reputation of her early aſſociates, threw a luſtre on her declining years; and as her memory remained unimpaired to the laſt, ſhe was reſorted to from all parts of Italy, as a living monument of thoſe happier days, which were never adverted to without regret (*a*).

That this attention to ſerious ſtudies, by which theſe celebrated women diſtinguiſhed themſelves, was the characteriſtic of the ſex in general, cannot perhaps be with truth aſſerted. The admiration beſtowed on thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves, affords indeed a ſtrong preſumption to the contrary. Yet the pretenſions of the ſex to literary eminence were not confined to theſe inſtances. The Italian hiſtorians have noticed many other women of high rank who obtained by their learning no inconſiderable ſhare of applauſe (*b*). Politiano celebrates as a tenth muſe a lady of Sienna, to whom he gives the name of Cecca (*c*); and from the numerous pieces in the learned languages, profeſſedly addreſſed to women, we may reaſonably infer, that theſe ſtudies were at that time more generally diffuſed amongſt them, than they have been at any ſubſequent period.

Having thus adverted to ſome of the principal cauſes which accelerated the progreſs of claſſical literature in the fifteenth century, and obſerved

(*a*) *Tomaſin. in vitâ Caſſandræ, p.* 42.

(*b*) *Tiraboſchi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vi. *parte* 2. *p.* 163.

(*c*) Mnemoſyne audito Senenſis carmine Ceccæ,
Quando inquit decima eſt nata puella mihi?

the active part which Lorenzo de' Medici took in every tranſaction that was favorable to its promotion, it may now be proper briefly to inquire what was the reſult of exertions ſo earneſtly made and ſo long continued; and whether the tree, which had been tranſplanted with much difficulty, and nouriſhed by ſuch conſtant attention, brought forth fruit ſufficient to repay the labor that had been beſtowed upon it.

One of the firſt efforts of the Italian ſcholars was the tranſlation of the moſt eminent Greek authors into Latin. Among the earlieſt and moſt aſſiduous of theſe tranſlators is Leonardo Aretino, whoſe verſions of various works of Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, and other Greek authors, form a liſt too extenſive to be recogniſed in the preſent work (*a*). The labors of Ficino, though not ſo numerous, are yet more voluminous. Some account of them is found in a Latin epiſtle from their author to Politiano: "Why, my friend," ſays Ficino, "have you ſo often deſired to know "what works I have publiſhed? Is it that you "celebrate them in your verſes? But approbation "is not due to number ſo much as to choice, "and merit is diſtinguiſhed by quality rather "than quantity (*b*)." If Ficino had adhered more

(*a*) A very full catalogue of the works of Leonardo is given by Laur. Mehus, and prefixed to his edition of the Letters of this celebrated ſcholar. *Flor.* 1741. This catalogue compriſes no leſs than ſixty-three different productions, many of which are tranſlations from the Greek.

(*b*) *v. App. No.* LV. Of the works there mentioned, ſeveral have been published, the early editions of which are yet held in eſteem.

closely to this maxim, it would certainly have diminished nothing of his reputation, which is buried under the immense mass of his own labors. The earliest production in this department of letters, which united elegance with fidelity, is the translation of the history of Herodian, by Politiano (*a*). This work he inscribed to Innocent VIII. in a manly and judicious address, in which he briefly states the rules that he had prescribed to himself in the execution of his work, which are yet deserving of the notice of all who engage in similar undertakings (*b*).

From his early years Politiano had closely attached himself to the study of the writings of Homer; and whilst he was very young, had begun

His translation of Plato was first printed at Florence without date, and again at Venice, 1491. His version of Plotinus, printed by Miscomini, at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici, though not published till after his death, is a fine specimen of typography; at the close we read,

Magnifico sumptu Laurentii Medicis patriæ servatoris, impressit ex archetypo Antonius Miscominus Florentiæ Anno MCCCCLXXXXII. *Nonis Maii.*

(*a*) Printed three times in the year 1493, viz. at Rome, at Bologna by *Plato de Benedictis*, and at the last-mentioned place by *Bazalerius de Bazaleriis*. Of these editions the second is the most esteemed.

Maittaire, Ann. Typ. v. i. p. 558. *De Bure. Bibl. Inst. No.* 4840.

(*b*) Quæ sane nostræ fuerunt partes, tentavimus profecto, utinamque etiam effecerimus, uti omnia ex fide responderent, ne inepta peregrinitas, ne græculæ usquam figuræ, nisi si quæ jam pro receptis habentur, latinam quasi polluerent castitatem; ut eadem propemodum esset linguæ utriusque perspicuitas, eædemque munditiæ, idem utrobique sensus atque indoles, nulla vocum morositas, nulla anxietas.

Pol. in præfat. Ed. Ald. 1498.

to tranſlate the Iliad into Latin hexameter verſe (*a*). Whoever is acquainted with the great extent of his powers, and the peculiar energy of his Latin compoſitions, will regret that of this monument of his induſtry not a veſtige remains. That he had made a conſiderable progreſs in this work, appears from many authorities; and there is even reaſon to believe, that his perſeverance finally overcame the difficulties of his undertaking. Ficino, writing to Lorenzo de' Medici, and congratulating him on the ſucceſs of his attention to liberal ſtudies, particularly adverts to the protection afforded by him to Politiano, of whoſe tranſlation of the Grecian bard he ſpeaks in thoſe terms of florid adulation which too frequently characterize his letters (*b*).

(*a*) An epitome of the Iliad in Latin verſe, under the fictitious name of Pindar the Theban, is amongſt the MSS. of the Laurentian Lib. *Plut.* xxxviii. *Cod.* xii. 2. and has alſo been published in the Ed. of Homer by Spondanus Baſil, 1583. Another tranſlation of the Grecian bard is ſaid to have been executed in the fifteenth century, by Niccolo Valla, who died at twenty-one years of age. *P. Corteſ. de Hom. doct. p.* 46. *Valerian. de Literat. Infel. lib.* ii. A tranſlation of the Iliad into Latin proſe, by Lorenzo Valla, was published at Breſcia 1474, and Lorenzo was accuſed of having availed himſelf of a tranſlation made a century before, by Leontius Pilatus, which tranſlation has alſo been inſcribed to Petrarca. *Hod. de Græc. illuſt. p.* 10.

(*b*) " Divites alii ferme omnes miniſtros nutriunt voluptatum; Tu " facerdotes muſarum nutris: perge precor mi Laurenti; nam illi " voluptatum ſervi evadent, tu vero muſarum delitiæ. Summus " muſarum ſacerdos, Homerus, in Italiam, te duce, venit. Et qui " hactenus circum vagus & mendicus fuit tandem apud te dulce " hoſpitium reperit. Nutris domi Homericum illum adoleſcentem, " Angelum Politianum, qui græcam Homeri perſonam latinis coloribus exprimat. Exprimit jam, atque id quod mirum eſt in tam

Another contemporary author has however plainly indicated that Politiano completed his important task (*a*), to the progreſs of which he has occaſionally adverted in his own works (*b*). Whether his youthful labors fell a ſacrifice to the ſeverity of his riper judgment, or periſhed in the general diſperſion of the Medicean Library, of which he lived to be a witneſs, is a queſtion which muſt yet remain undecided.

The early part of the fifteenth century was diſtinguiſhed by a warm admiration of the writings of the ancients, and an extreme avidity to poſſeſs them. This was ſucceeded, as might be expected, by an attention to the accuracy of

" tenere ætati, ita exprimit ut niſi quis græcum fuiſſe Homerum " noverit, dubitaturus ſit, e duobus uter naturalis ſit & uter pictus " Homerus, &c." *Fic. Ep. lib.* i.

(*a*) Amongſt the Latin poems of Aleſſandro Braccio, the contemporary and friend of Politiano, and well known by his tranſlation of the works of Appian, is the following epigram:

" AD LAURENTIUM MEDICEM.

" Tempora noſtra tibi multum debentia Laurens,
" Non minus hoc debent, nobile propter opus,
" Maeonium, duce te quod nuper & auſpice, vatem,
" Convertit Latios Angelus in numeros,
" Cumque decore ſuo cum majeſtate legendum,
" Dat nobis qualem Græcia docta legit,
" Ut dubites *Latius* malit quam *Græcus Homerus*
" Eſſe, magis patrius hunc niſi vincat amor."

Band. Cat. Laur. lib. iii. 780.

(*b*) " Nam & ego is ſum qui ab ineunte adoleſcentia, ita hujus " eminentiſſimi poetæ ſtudio ardoreque flagraverim, ut non modo " eum totum legendo olfecerim, pœneque contriverim, ſed juvenili " quodam, ac prope temerario auſu, vertere etiam in Latinum " tentaverim." *Pol. Orat. in Exp. Homeri in op. Ald.* 1498.

the text, and an ardent desire of transfusing their beauties into a language more generally known. Towards the latter part of the century a further progress was made; and from commenting, and translating, the Italians began to emulate these remains of ancient genius. Those who distinguished themselves during the time of Cosmo, and Piero de' Medici, have already attracted some share of our notice; but it must in general be acknowledged, that although their labors exhibit at times a tolerable knowledge of the mechanical parts of learning, and have the body and form of poetic composition, yet the animating spirit that should communicate life and motion is sought for in vain; or if it be any where discoverable, is only to be found in the licentious productions of Beccatelli (*a*). Of that kind of composition which may be called classical, modern Italy had seen no examples. The writings of Landino, of which specimens have been already given, are however entitled to some share of approbation; and if they be not marked by any powerful efforts of imagination, nor remind us strongly of the ancient authors, they possess a flow of language, and facility of diction and versification, much superior to his predecessors. A further proficiency was made by Naldo Naldio, or *Naldo de Naldis*, the friend of Ficino and Politiano, and the frequent panegyrist of the Medici (*b*). The poem of Ugolino

(*a*) *v. ante, v.* I. *p.* 55.

(*b*) The poems of Naldio are printed in the *Selecta Poemata Italorum, v.* vi. *p.* 412. of these the first is addressed, *Ad Petrum*

Verini, " *De Illuſtratione Urbis Florentiæ*," is perhaps more eſtimable for the authenticity of the information it communicates, than for its poetical excellence, yet Verini has left other teſtimonies that entitle him to rank with the firſt Latin poets of his age (*a*). Theſe pieces are principally devoted

Medicem in obitu magni Coſmi ejus genitoris, qui vere dum vixit optimus Parens cognominatus fuit. An extract from this piece in the Appendix, No. LVI. will ſufficiently show, that Naldio was poſſeſſed of no inconſiderable talents for Latin poetry. Another of the poems of Naldio is addreſſed to Annalena, a nun, probably the ſiſter-in-law of Bernardo Pulci (*v. ante, vol.* i. *p.* 250.), in which the poet laments the death of Albiera Albizzi, the wife of Sigiſmundo Stufa, on whoſe death Politiano has alſo left a beautiful Latin elegy. It is probable there were two ſucceſſive authors of this name, whoſe works are inſerted in the *Carmina illuſt.* it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that the ſame perſon who addreſſed himſelf to Piero on the death of his father in 1464, and had before written a poem to Coſmo on the death of his ſon John, ſhould be the author of the pieces in this collection which are inſcribed to Leo X. who did not enter on his pontificate till 1513. Politiano has left the following commendatory epigram on the writings of Naldio:

Dum celebrat Medicem *Naldus*, dum laudat amicam,
Et pariter gemino raptus amore canit,
Tam lepidum unanimes illi ornavere libellum,
Phœbus, Amor, Pallas, Gratia, Muſa, Fides.

(*a*) The example of Landino in affixing to his poetical labors the name of his miſtreſs (*v. ante, vol.* i. *p.* 91.) was followed by Verini, who gave the title of *Flametta* to his two books of Latin elegies, which he inſcribed to Lorenzo de' Medici, and which yet remain in the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* xxxix. *cod.* 42.). Bandini ſuppoſes that Landino, as well as many other learned men of thoſe times, had a real object of his paſſion, for which he gives a very ſatisfactory reaſon. " Neque hoc nomen fictum eſſe crediderim, quum revera " mihi compertum ſit, illius ævi litteratos viros, *ut nunc quoque*

to the praiſes of the Medici, and frequently advert to the characters of Lorenzo and Giuliano, and to the circumſtances of the times (*a*).

In Michael Verini, the ſon of Ugolino, we have a ſurpriſing inſtance of early attainments in learning. He was born in 1465; and although he died at the age of ſeventeen years, yet in that ſhort ſpace of time he had obtained the admiration, and conciliated the eſteem of his learned contemporaries. His principal work is a collection of Latin *diſtichs*, which exhibit great facility both of invention and expreſſion, and an acquaintance with human life and manners far beyond his years. His Latin letters, of which a large collection is preſerved in the Laurentian Library (*b*), and which are chiefly addreſſed to his father, are as honorable to the paternal kindneſs of the one, as to the filial affection of the other. His death is ſaid to have been occaſioned by his repugnance to obey the preſcription of his phyſicians, who recommended an experiment which it ſeems his modeſty did not approve, and he fell a ſacrifice to his per-

" *accidit*, puellas in deliciis habuiſſe plurimum, in earumque laudem " carmina, ad inſtar illa Ovidii quæ amatoria nuncupantur, exaraſſe." *Band. Spec. Lit. Flor. v.* i. *p.* 120.

(*a*) In the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* xxvi. *cod.* 21.) is preſerved a poem by Ugolino, to which he has given the name of *Paradiſus*. On his imaginary excurſion to the celeſtial regions, the poet meets with Coſmo de' Medici, who converſes with him at great length on the affairs of Florence, and particularly on the ſituation of his own family.

(*b*) *Plut.* lxxxx. *cod.* 28. From theſe letters Bandini has in his valuable catalogue given copious extracts. *v.* iii. *p.* 462, *& ſeq.*

tinacious chaſtity (*a*). From his letters it appears that both he and his father lived on terms of intimacy and friendſhip with Landino, Bartolomeo Fontio, and Politiano, and that Lorenzo de' Medici occaſionally paſſed a leiſure hour in convivial intercourſe with this learned family (*b*).

The reputation acquired by the Florentines in the cultivation of Latin poetry ſtimulated the exertions of other Italian ſcholars. On the memorable occaſion of the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, Platinus Platus, a Milaneſe, addreſſed to Lorenzo de' Medici a copy of verſes, which obtained his

(*a*) This event has been commemorated both in verſe and proſe, in Latin and Italian, by many contemporary authors. (*v. App. No.* LVII.) Verini is not the only inſtance of the kind on record. If we may believe Ammirato, the death of the cardinal of Lisbon in 1459 was occaſioned by a ſimilar circumſtance. *Amm. Iſt. Flor. v.* iii. *p.* 89. That ſuch a remedy had been preſcribed to Verini, is apparent from the following affecting paſſage in one of his letters: "Inſuperabilis me valitudo confecit, membra ut ſint pallore macieque "deformia; nocte crucior, die non quieſco, & quod me acrius torquet, "in tanto dolore ſpes nulla ſalutis. Quamquam medici, & tota "domus, & amici, nihil pericli afferant, deprehendo tamen tacitos "in vultu timores, ſuſpiria, murmur, taciturnitatem, mæroris cuncta "ſigna proſpicio; ſed cui notior morbus quam mihi? Quidquid ac-"ciderit, utinam forti animo feramus; ſcio mihi nullum de vita factum "reſtare pœnitendum, niſi quod potueram valitudini conſulere ſapien-"tius; verum mihi *pudor*, vel potius *ruſticitas* obfuit — vale."

(*b*) "Fingit Homerus Jovem ipſum, alioſque Deos, Olympo relicto, "apud Ethiopas diverſiſſe, cœnaſſe, luſiſſe: Auguſtum etiam orbis "terrarum principem, apud privatos ſine ullo apparatu cœnitaſſe: "ſed cur vetera? Laurentius Medices urbis noſtræ facile primus, "apud patrem meum pranſus eſt nonnumquam," &c.

Mic. Ver. Ep. 15. *ad Sim. Caniſianum. ap. Band. Cat. v.* iii. *p.* 483.

warm approbation (*a*). The exertions of Lorenzo in eſtabliſhing the academy at Piſa gave riſe to a poem of greater merit and importance, by Carolus de Maximis (*b*). To the authors before mentioned we may add the names of Cantalicio, Nicodemo Folengi, Aleſſandro Braccio, and Aurelio Augurelli, all of whom have cultivated Latin poetry with different degrees of ſucceſs, and have addreſſed ſome portion of their works to Lorenzo de' Medici to which the reader may not be diſpleaſed to refer (*c*).

(*a*) Laurentius Medices, quanta voluptate adficeretur in perlegendis poeticis ejuſdem (Plati) lucubrationibus, quantoque illum in pretio haberet, teſtatus eſt in epiſtola ad ipſum ſcripta, ob acceptum ex ejus carminibus non mediocre doloris levamen in neſarie patrata fratris ſui cæde: ait enim, "vetus eſt verbum, mi Platine, *inſuavem eſſe in luctu muſicam:* ego vero tuis perlectis verſiculis, re ipſa reperi "nihil tam maxime ad ſolatium facere quam muſicam." *Saxius in Hiſt. Litteraria Typogr. Mediol. ap. Band. in Cat. Bib. Laur. v.* ii. *p.* 193. Theſe verſes are published in the *Select. Poem. Ital. v.* vii. *p.* 256.

(*b*) DE STUDIO PISANAE URBIS ET EJUS SITUS MAXIMA FELICITATE AD LAURENTIUM MEDICEM. This piece is preſerved in the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* lxxxxi. *cod.* 46. *v. Band. Cat. v.* iii. *p.* 850.), and contains ſo full, and at the ſame time ſo elegant an eulogy on the character of Lorenzo, and particularly on his attention to the promotion of letters, that I have given it a place in the Appendix, No. LVIII.

(*c*) The poems of Cantalicio are published in the *Carmina Illuſt. Poet. Ital. vol.* iii. *p.* 123. and are inſcribed to Lorenzo de' Medici. Thoſe of Folengi are inſerted in the ſame work, *vol.* iv. *p.* 419. Aleſſandro Braccio was equally eminent in politics and letters. He was for ſome time ſecretary of the Florentine republic, and died on an embaſſy to pope Alexander VI. His tranſlation of Appian into Italian is yet highly eſteemed, and forms part of the *Collana*, or

Of all theſe authors, though ſome poſſeſs a conſiderable ſhare of merit, not one of them can contend in point of poetical excellence with Politiano, who in his compoſition approaches nearer to the ſtandard of the ancients than any man of his time; yet, whilſt he emulates the dignity of

ſeries of Italian hiſtorical works. The Latin poems of Braccio, though very numerous, have not yet been published, but are preſerved in the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* lxxxxi. *cod.* 40, 41. Many of them are inſcribed to Lorenzo de' Medici and other men of eminence, as Landino, Ficino, Bartolomeo Scala, Ugolini Verini, &c. I have before adduced ſome lines of this author to Lorenzo de' Medici, and ſhall hereafter avail myſelf of an opportunity of producing a more extenſive ſpecimen of his works. The following epigram addreſſed to Politiano is not inapplicable to our preſent ſubject:

v. Band. Cat. v. iii. *p.* 781.

AD ANGELUM BASSUM POLITIANENSEM.

Tanta tibi tenero quum ſurgat pectore virtus,
Quanta vel annoſo vix queat eſſe ſeni,
Ac tua grandiſono reboent quum, *Baſſe*, cothurno
Carmina, magnanimo non niſi digna duce,
Et tibi ſit locuples oris facundia docti,
Teque ſuis ditet Græcia litterulis,
Te precor ad longos ut ſervet Jupiter annos,
Incolumemque ſinat vivere poſſe diu.
Nam tua Mæonio multum certantia vati
Carmina quis dubitet, Virgilioque fore?
Atque decus clarum noſtræ magnumque futurum
Quis neget ætatis te, memorande puer?
Sis igitur felix, noſtri ſpes maxima ſæcli,
Teque putes nobis charius eſſe nihil.

Aurelio Augurelli is more generally known. His poems have frequently been published. The firſt edition is that of Verona, 1491, in 4to; the moſt correct and elegant, that of Aldus, 1505. Theſe poems rank in the firſt claſs of modern Latin poetry.

Virgil,

Virgil, or reminds us of the elegance of Horace, he ſuggeſts not to our minds the idea of ſervile imitation. Of the character of his writings various opinions have indeed been entertained, which have been detailed at large by Baillet, and ſtill more copiouſly by Menckenius (*a*). It may therefore be ſufficient on this occaſion to caution the reader againſt an implicit acquieſcence in the opinions of two eminent living authors who have either obliquely cenſured, or too cautiouſly approved his poetical works (*b*). In the attempt made by Politiano to reſtore a juſt taſte for the literature of the ancients, it is not to be denied that he had

(*a*) *Baillet Jugemens des Sçavans, vol.* iv. *p.* 18. *Menck. in vitâ Pol. paſſim.*

(*b*) Tiraboſchi, adopting the ſentiments of Giraldi, acknowledges that Politiano was poſſeſſed of a vivid genius, of extenſive powers, and of uncommon and diverſified erudition; but cenſures his Latin poetry as deficient in elegance and choice of expreſſion. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vi. *par.* 2. *p.* 234. Fabroni, adverting to the Italian poetry of Politiano, inſinuates, that the Latin muſes were reſerved and coy, to one who had obtained the favor of their ſiſter at ſo early an age, by his verſes on the *Gioſtra* of Giuliano de' Medici. *Fabr. in vitâ Laur. p.* 157. To oppoſe to theſe opinions the authority of many other eminent men who have mentioned the Latin writings of Politiano with almoſt unlimited praiſe, would only be to detail the compilations of Baillet or Menckenius. But the works of Politiano are yet open to the inſpection of the inquiſitive ſcholar; and though certainly unequal in point of merit, perhaps according to the time of life at which they were produced, will be found, upon the whole, to poſſeſs a vigor of ſentiment, a copiouſneſs of imagination, and a claſſical elegance of expreſſion, which, if conſidered with reference to the age in which he lived, entitle them to the higheſt eſteem.

powerful coadjutors in Pontano and Sanazaro (*a*), whose labors have given to the delightful vicinity of Naples new pretensions to the appellation of classic ground. Nor will it diminish his reputation if we admit that the empire which he had founded was in the next century extended and secured by the exertions of Fracastoro, Vida, Naugerio, and Flaminio (*b*), in whom the great poets of the Augustan age seem once more to be revived.

(*a*) Giacopo Sanazaro, or, by his academical appellation, Actius Sincerus Sanazarius, was a Neapolitan, born in the year 1458, and equally eminent by his Italian and Latin compositions. In the former, his reputation is chiefly founded on his *Arcadia;* in the latter, on his poem in three books, *De partu Virginis*, which is allowed, however, to be greatly blemished by the introduction of the pagan deities to the mysteries of the Christian religion.

(*b*) I cannot mention these names without regretting the limits to which I am necessarily confined. The rivals of Virgil, of Ovid, and of Catullus, ought not, in a work that touches on the rise of letters, to be commemorated at the foot of a page. The *Syphilis* of Fracastoro, *sive de Morbo Gallico*, though an unpromising subject, is beyond comparison the finest Latin poem that has appeared since the times of the ancients. The writings of Vida are more generally known, and would be entitled to higher applause, if they did not frequently discover to the classical reader an imitation of the ancients that borders on servility. Naugerio was a noble Venetian, who died young on an embassy from the republic. In his last moments he destroyed all his writings then in his possession, as not being sufficiently correct for the public eye; but the few that had been previously distributed among his friends were collected and published by them after his death, and breathe the true spirit of poetry. In Flaminio we have the simplicity and tenderness of Catullus, without his licentiousness. To those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not be thought extravagant to assert, that many of them, in the species of composition to which they are confined, were never excelled. The question addressed by

Whilſt the ſtudy of polite literature was thus emerging from its ſtate of reptile torpor, the other ſciences felt the effects of the ſame invigorating beam; and the city of Florence, like a ſheltered garden in the opening of ſpring, re-echoed with the earlieſt ſounds of returning animation. The Platonic academy exiſted in full ſplendor, and ſerved as a common bond to unite, at ſtated intervals, thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by ſcientific or literary purſuits. The abſurd pretenſions of judicial aſtrology were freely examined and openly expoſed; and obſervation and experiment were at length ſubſtituted in the place of conjecture and of fraud (*a*). Paolo Toſcanelli had already erected his celebrated Gnomon (*b*). Lorenzo da Volpaja conſtructed for Lorenzo de' Medici, a clock, or piece of mechaniſm, which not only

him to a friend, reſpecting the writings of Catullus, "Quando leggete— "non vi ſentite voi liquefare il cuore di dolcezza?" may with confidence be repeated to all thoſe who are converſant with his works.

(*a*) Pico of Mirandula was one of the firſt who entered the liſts againſt this formidable adverſary of real knowledge, in his treatiſe in twelve books, *adverſus Aſtrologos*, which is found in the general collection of his works. *Ven.* 1498.

(*b*) This Gnomon, which has juſtly been denominated the nobleſt aſtronomical inſtrument in the world, was erected by Toſcanelli, about the year 1460, for the purpoſe of determining the ſolſtices, and thereby aſcertaining the feaſts of the Romish church. It is fixed in the cupola of the church of S. Maria del fiore, at the height of 277 Pariſian feet. A ſmall orifice tranſmits from that diſtance the rays of the ſun to a marble flag, placed in the floor of the church. This inſtrument was, in the preſent century, corrected and improved at the inſtance of M. de la Condamine, who acknowledges it to be a ſtriking proof of the capacity and extended views of its author.

marked the hour of the day, but the motions of the ſun and of the planets, the eclipſes, the ſigns of the zodiac, and the whole revolutions of the heavens (*a*). A laudable attempt was made by Franceſco Berlinghieri to facilitate the ſtudy of geography, by uniting it with poetry (*b*). In metaphyſics ſeveral treatiſes made their appearance, ſome of which are inſcribed by their authors to Lorenzo de' Medici (*c*). His efforts to promote the important ſcience of medecine, and to reſcue it from the abſurdities in which it was enveloped are acknowledged by ſeveral of its moſt eminent profeſſors, who cultivated it on more rational principles, and have attributed their proficiency

(*a*) Politiano has left a very particular deſcription of this curious piece of machinery. *Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 8. A ſingular ſpectacle was alſo deviſed by Lorenzo de' Medici for the amuſement of the populace, a memorial of which is preſerved in a poem by Naldio, *Carm. Illuſt. v.* vi. *p.* 436. entitled *Elegia in ſeptem Stellas errantes ſub humana ſpecie per urbem Florentinam curribus a Laurentio Medice Patriæ Patre duci juſſas, more triumphantium.* From this poem we learn that the planets were perſonified and diſtinguiſhed by their proper attributes, and that they performed their evolutions to the ſound of muſic, with verſes explanatory of their motions and ſuppoſed qualities.

Nec tantum ſignis quot erant ea ſidera certis
Monſtrabat, Medices, qua ſpecieque forent,
Dulcibus at numeris ſuavi modulatus ab ore
Singula quid faciant præcipis arte cani.

(*b*) The *Geografia* of Berlinghieri was published with maps at Florence in the year 1480.

(*c*) Niccolo Fulginato addreſſed to Lorenzo his treatiſe *De Ideis*, which yet remains in manuſcript in the Laurentian Library. *Plut.* lxxxii. *cod.* 22. *Band. Cat.* iii. 201. and Leonardo Nogarola a work entitled *De Immortalitate animæ. Plut.* lxxxiii. *cod.* 22. *Band. Cat.* iii. 219.

to his bounty (*a*). In the practice and theory of music, Antonio Squarcialupi excelled all his predecessors; and Lorenzo is said to have written a poem in his praise (*b*). His liberality was emulated by many other illustrious citizens, who were allied to him by affinity, or attached by the ties of friendship and of kindred studies, and the innumerable literary works of this period, the production of Florentine authors, evince the success that attended their exertions. Of these works many yet hold a high rank, not only for practical knowledge, but for purity of diction; and upon the whole they bear the stamp of industry, talents, and good sense. And as they may be preferred,

(*a*) Bernardus de Tornis, dedicating to Giovanni de' Medici, when a cardinal, his treatise *de Cibis Quadragesimalibus*, thus addresses him: "Laurentius, pater tuus, Reverendissime Domine, tanta erga "me utitur humanitate, ac tot beneficiis Tornium adstringit, ut filiis "totique domui, perpetuo me debere profitear. Degustavi nutu ejus "medicinalem scientiam, neque fui caussa defuit quidquam, quo ad "illius apicem potuerim pervenire." *Bandi. Cat. v.* i. *p.* 659. In the Laurentian Library are several medical works addressed to Lorenzo, as Joh. Calora. Compend. Febrium. *Band. Cat.* iii. 42. Joh. Aretini de Medicinæ & legum præstantia, &c. *ib.* iii. 141.

(*b*) This I mention on the authority of Mr. Tenhove. "En fait "de musique," says he, giving an account of Leo. Bat. Alberti, "il ne cédait qu'au seul Antoine Squarcialupo. J'ai sous les yeux "un poème que Laurent de' Médicis fit en l'honneur de ce der- "nier; car quel est le genre de talents au quel Médicis ne faisait pas "accueil?" *Mém. Généal. de la Maison de Médicis. lib.* x. *p.* 99. I regret that this poem of Lorenzo has escaped my researches. Valori relates, that Lorenzo being present when the character of this celebrated musician was the subject of censure, observed to his detractors, *If you knew how difficult it is to arrive at excellence in any science, you would speak of him with more respect. Val. in vitâ Laur. p.* 45.

both in point of information and compoſition, to the productions that immediately preceded them, ſo they are perhaps more truly eſtimable than many of thoſe of the enſuing century; when, by an overſtrained attention to the beauty of language, the importance of the ſubject was frequently neglected or forgotten, and the talents of the firſt men of the age being devoted rather to words than to things, were overwhelmed in a prolixity of language, that in the form of letters, orations, and critical diſſertations, became the opprobrium of literature, and the deſtruction of true taſte.

CHAP. VIII.

DOMESTIC character of Lorenzo de' Medici—Accuſed of being addicted to licentious amours—Children of Lorenzo — His conduct towards them — Politiano accompanies them to Piſtoia — They remove to Caſſagiolo — Diſſenſions between Politiano and Madonna Clarice — He retires to Fieſole, and writes his poem entitled RUSTICUS *— Piero de' Medici — Giovanni de' Medici — Lorenzo diſcharges his debts, and quits commerce for agriculture — Villa of Poggio-Cajano—Careggi—Fieſole and other domains— Piero viſits the Pope—Giovanni raiſed to the dignity of a cardinal—Admonitory letter of Lorenzo—Piero marries Alfonſina Orſini — Viſits Milan — Learned eccleſiaſtics favored by Lorenzo — Mariana Gennazano — Girolamo Savonarola — Matteo Boſſo — Death of Madonna Clarice—Aſſaſſination of Girolamo Riario—Tragical death of Galeotto Manfredi prince of Faenza.*

HAVING hitherto traced the conduct of Lorenzo de' Medici in public life, we may now be allowed to follow him to his domeſtic retreat, and obſerve him in the intercourſe of his family, the education of his children, or the ſociety of his friends. The mind of man varies with his local ſituation, and before it can be juſtly eſtimated, muſt be viewed in thoſe moments when it expands in the warmth of confidence, and exhibits

its true colors in the ſunſhine of affection. Whether it was from the ſuggeſtions of policy, or the verſatility of his natural diſpoſition, that Lorenzo de' Medici turned with ſuch facility from concerns of high importance to the diſcuſſion of ſubjects of amuſement, and the levity of convivial intercourſe, certain it is, that few perſons have diſplayed this faculty in ſo eminent a degree. "Think not," ſays Politiano, writing to his friend (*a*), "that any of our learned aſſociates, "even they who have devoted their lives to "ſtudy, are to be eſteemed ſuperior to Lorenzo "de' Medici, either for acuteneſs in diſputation, "or for good ſenſe in forming a juſt deciſion; or "that he yields to any of them in expreſſing his "thoughts with facility, variety, and elegance. "The examples of hiſtory are as familiar to him as "the attendants that ſurround his table; and when "the nature of his ſubject admits of it, his con"verſation is abundantly ſeaſoned with the ſalt col"lected from that ocean, from which Venus herſelf "firſt ſprung (*b*)." His talent for irony was peculiar, and folly and abſurdity ſeldom eſcaped his animad-

(*a*) *Ang. Polit. Lodovico Odaxio. Ep. lib.* iii. *Ep.* 6.

(*b*) ——— Luſuſque Saleſque,
Sed lectus pelago, quo Venus orta ſales,

Says Jacques Moiſant, Sieur de Brieux. *v.* Menagiana, *tom.* i. *p.* 59. where the author has traced this ſentiment from Plutarch to Politiano, and downwards to Victorius, Heinſius, and de Brieux. "Quelque belle & fine, au reſte," ſays he, "que ſoit cette penſée, "uſée aujourd'hui comme elle eſt, on n'oſerait plus la répéter."

verſion (*a*). In the collections formed by the Florentines, of the *motti e burle* of celebrated men, Lorenzo bears a diſtinguiſhed part; but when expreſſions adapted to the occaſion of a moment are tranſplanted to the page of a book, and ſubmitted to the cool conſideration of the cloſet, they too often remind us of a flower cropt from its ſtalk, to be preſerved in arid deformity. Poſſibly too, thoſe who have aſſumed the taſk of ſelection may not have been accurate in their choice, and perhaps the celebrity of his name may have been an inducement to others to attribute to him witticiſms unworthy of his character. Yet the *bon-mots* of Lorenzo may rank with many of thoſe which have been publiſhed with importance, and read with avidity (*b*). Grazzini has alſo introduced this eminent man as amuſing himſelf

(*a*) "Quum jocabatur, nihil hilarius; quum mordebat nihil aſperius." *Valori, in vitâ, p.* 14.

(*b*) Several of them are related by Valori, and many others may be found in the *Facetie, Motti e Burle, di diverſi Signori, &c. Raccolte per Lod. Domenichi. Ven.* 1588. One of his kinſmen, remarkable for his avarice, having boaſted that he had at his villa a plentiful ſtream of fine water, Lorenzo replied, *If ſo, you might afford to keep cleaner hands.* Bartolommeo Soccini, of Sienna, having obſerved, in alluſion to the defect in Lorenzo's ſight, that the air of Florence was injurious to the eyes; *True,* ſaid Lorenzo, *and that of Sienna to the brain.* Being interrogated by Ugolino Martelli, why he roſe ſo late in the morning, Lorenzo in return inquired from Martelli, why he roſe ſo ſoon, and finding that it was to employ himſelf in trifles, *My morning dreams,* ſaid Lorenzo, *are better than thy morning's buſineſs.* When Soccini eloped from Florence, to evade his engagements as profeſſor of civil law there, and being taken and brought back, was committed to priſon, he complained that a man of his eminence ſhould undergo ſuch a ſhameful punishment. *You ſhould*

with a piece of meditated jocularity, in order to free himſelf from the importunate viſits of a phyſician, who too frequently appeared at his table; but, for the veracity of this narrative, we have only the authority of a profeſſed noveliſt (*a*). Nor is it likely that Lorenzo, though he frequently indulged in the licence allowed by the Roman ſatiriſt, would have forgotten the precaution with which it is accompanied (*b*), or would have miſemployed his time and his talents, in contriving and executing a ſtale and inſipid jeſt.

Although there is reaſon to believe that Clarice Orſini, the wife of Lorenzo, was not the object of his early paſſion, yet that he lived with her in uninterrupted affection, and treated her on all

remember, ſaid Lorenzo, *that the ſhame is not in the punishment, but in the crime. Val. p.* 14. *Dom. p.* 121, *&c.*

(*a*) Anton-Franceſco Grazzini, detto Il Laſca. *Novelle, Ed. Lond.* 1756. *La terza Cena, Nov.* x. The argument of this novel is as follows: "Lorenzo vecchio de' Medici da due traveſtiti, fa condurre "Maeſtro Manente ubbriaco una ſera dopo cena ſegretamente nel ſuo "palagio, e quivi e altrove lo tiene, ſenza ſapere egli dove ſia, lungo "tempo al bujo, facendogli portar mangiare da due immaſcherati; "dopo per via del Monaco buffone, da a credere alle perſone, lui "eſſer morto di peſte, perciocchè cavato di caſa ſua un morto, in ſuo "ſcambio lo fa diſotterrare. Il Magnifico poi con modo ſtravagante "manda via Maeſtro Manente, il quale finalmente creduto morto da "ognuno, arriva in Firenze, dove la moglie, penſando che fuſſe l'anima "ſua, lo caccia via come ſe fuſſe lo ſpirito, e dalla gente avuto la "corſa, trova ſolo Burchiello, che lo riconoſce, e piatendo prima la "moglie in Veſcovado, e poi alli Otto è rimeſſa la cauſa in Lorenzo, "il quale fatto venire Nepo da Galatrona, fa veder alle perſone, ogni "coſa eſſer intervenuta al Medico per forza d'incanti; ſicchè riavuta "la donna, Maeſtro Manente piglia per ſuo avvocato San Cipriano."

(*b*) Nec luſiſſe pudet—ſed non incidere ludum. *Hor. Ep. lib.* i.

occaſions with the reſpect due to her rank and her virtues, appears from many circumſtances. He has not however eſcaped an imputation which has ſometimes attached itſelf to names of great celebrity, and which indeed too often taints the general maſs of excellence with the leaven of human nature. "Such a combination of talents "and of virtues," ſays Machiavelli, "as appeared "in Lorenzo de' Medici, was not counterbalanced "by a ſingle fault, although he was incredibly "devoted to the indulgence of an amorous paſ-"ſion (*a*)." In aſſerting a particular defect, it is remarkable that the hiſtorian admits it not as an exception to his general approbation. Yet it is not to be denied, that if ſuch an accuſation were eſtabliſhed, it would be difficult to apologize for Lorenzo, although the manners of the age, and the vivacity of his natural diſpoſition, might be urged in extenuation of his miſconduct. In juſtice however to his character, it muſt be obſerved, that the hiſtory of the times furniſhes us with no information, either as to the circumſtances attending his amours, or the particular objects of his paſſion (*b*); nor indeed does there appear, from

(*a*) *Hiſt. Flor. lib.* viii.

(*b*) On lui a encore reproché le défaut des ames héroïques & ſenſibles, trop de penchant à l'amour. Je ſçai qu'il aima prodigieuſement les femmes, & j'ignore comment cette ſource inépuiſable de faibleſſes, n'en fut point une pour lui. S'il brûlait vivement, il brulait ſenſement; jamais ſes galanteries ne firent ombrage aux citoyens, parcequ'elles n'influèrent en rien ſur ſa conduite publique. Sa vie grave, & ſa vie badine, étaient tellement ſéparées, qu'on eût dit qu'il y avait deux hommes en lui.

Tenhove, Mém. Généal. de la Maiſon de Médicis, liv. xi. *p.* 143.

the teſtimony of his contemporaries, any reaſon to infer that he is juſtly charged with this deviation from the rules of virtue, and of decorum (*a*). Probably this imputation is founded only on a preſumption ariſing from the amorous tendency of ſome of his poetical writings; and certain it is that if the offspring of imagination and the effuſions of poetry be allowed to decide, his conviction will be apparent in almoſt every line. It may perhaps be obſerved that theſe pieces were chiefly the productions of his youth, before the reſtrictions of the marriage vow had ſuppreſſed the breathings of paſſion; but how ſhall we elude the inference which ariſes from the following lines?

Teco l'aveſſi il ciel donna congiunto
In matrimonio: ah che pria non veniſti
Al mondo, o io non ſon più tardo giunto?

O that the marriage bond had join'd our fate,
Nor I been born too ſoon, nor thou too late!

Or from theſe, which are ſtill more explicit?

Ma queſto van penſiero a che ſoggiorno?
Se tu pur dianzi, ed io fui un tempo avanti,
Dal laccio conjugal legato intorno?

(*a*) In the poem of Brandolini, *De laudibus Laur. Med.* (*App. No.* L.) the attention of Lorenzo to the dictates of morality and decorum, as well in himſelf as others, is the particular ſubject of panegyric, and that by a contemporary writer. Had the conduct of Lorenzo been notoriouſly licentious, ſuch praiſe would have been the ſevereſt ſatire.

But why theſe thoughts irrelevant and vain!
If I, long ſince in Hymen's fetters tied,
Am doom'd to hear another call thee bride?

Nor muſt it be denied that this elegiac fragment, though incorrect and unfiniſhed, is diſtinguiſhed by that pathos and glow of expreſſion which genuine paſſion can alone inſpire (*a*). If in this piece Lorenzo be amorous, in others he is licentious; and if we admit the production of a moment of levity, as the evidence of his feelings, the only regret that he experienced was from the reflection, that he had in the courſe of his paſt time imprudently neglected ſo many opportunities of collecting the ſweets that were ſtrown in his way (*b*). But ſhall we venture to infer, that becauſe Lorenzo wrote amorous verſes, and amuſed himſelf with *jeux d'eſprit*, his life was diſſolute, and his conduct immoral? "As poetry is the flower of ſcience," ſays Menage, "ſo there is not a ſingle perſon of "education who has not compoſed, or at leaſt "wiſhed to compoſe verſes; and as love is a "natural paſſion, and poetry is the language of "love, ſo there is no one who has written verſes "who has not felt the effects of love." If we judge with ſuch ſeverity, what will become of the numerous throng of poets who have thought it ſufficient to alledge in their juſtification, that if

(*a*) *v.* this piece, entitled *Elegia*, in the poems of Lorenzo, publiſhed at the cloſe of this volume.

(*b*) See the piece entitled *La Confeſſione*, alſo printed amongſt his poems at the end of the preſent volume.

Their verſe was wanton, yet their lives were chaſte?

or what ſhall we ſay to the extenſive catalogue of learned eccleſiaſtics, who have endeavoured to fill the void of celibacy, by compoſing verſes on ſubjects of love (*a*) ?

Whatever may be thought of the conduct or the ſentiments of Lorenzo on this head, it does not appear that he left any offspring of illicit love; but by his wife Clarice he had a numerous progeny, of which three ſons and four daughters arrived at the age of maturity. Piero his eldeſt ſon was born on the fifteenth day of February 1471; Giovanni, on the eleventh day of December 1475; and Giuliano, his youngeſt, in 1478. Of theſe the firſt was diſtinguiſhed by a ſeries of misfortunes too juſtly merited, the two latter by an unuſual degree of proſperity; Giovanni having obtained the dignity of the Tiara, which he wore by the name of Leo X.; and Giuliano having allied himſelf by marriage to the royal houſe of France, and obtained the title of duke of Nemours.

In no point of view does the character of this extraordinary man appear more engaging than in his affection towards his children, in his care of their education, and in his ſolicitude for their welfare. In their ſociety he relaxed from his important occupations, and accuſtomed himſelf to

(*a*) For this catalogue, from Heliodorus biſhop of Tricca in Theſſaly, to M. Du Bois doctor in Theology at Paris, the reader may conſult the *Anti-Baillet* of M. Menage, written by him when upwards of ſeventy years of age, and the moſt ſingular inſtance of induſtry, wit, vanity, and learning that the annals of literature can produce.

ſhare their pleaſures and promote their amuſements (*a*). By what more certain means can a parent obtain that confidence ſo neceſſary to enable him to promote the happineſs of his children? The office of an inſtructor of youth he conſidered as of the higheſt importance. "If," ſays he, "we "eſteem thoſe who contribute to the proſperity "of the ſtate, we ought to place in the firſt rank "the tutors of our children, whoſe labors are to "influence poſterity, and on whoſe precepts and "exertions the dignity of our family, and of our "country, in a great meaſure depends (*b*)."

Soon after the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, when Lorenzo thought it expedient to remove his family to Piſtoia, they were accompanied by Politiano, as the inſtructor of his ſons, who gave frequent information to his patron of their ſituation, and

(*a*) ——— "Si dilettaſſe d'huomini faceti e mordaci, & di "giuochi puerili, più che a tanto huomo non pareva ſi conveniſſe; "in modo che molte volte fu viſto tra i ſuoi figliuoli e figliuole, tra "i loro traſtulli meſcolarſi." *Mac. Hiſt. lib.* viii. On this ſubject I muſt not omit the comment of the intereſting and elegant Tenhove: "Eſt-il un ſpectacle plus touchant, que celui de voir un tel homme "dépoſer le fardeau de la gloire au ſein de la nature? A des yeux "non viciés Laurent de' Medicis parait bien grand, & bien aimable, "lors'quil joue à croix & pile avec le petit duc de Nemours, ou "qu'il ſe roule a terre avec Leon X." *Tenh. Mém. Généal. lib.* xi. *p.* 142.

(*b*) Si feræ partus ſuos diligunt, qua nos in liberos noſtros indulgentia eſſe debemus? Et ſi omnes, qui civitati conſulunt, cari nobis ſunt, certe in primis liberorum inſtitutores, quorum induſtria ſempiternum tempus ſpectat, quorumque præceptis, conſiliis, & virtute, retinebimus familiæ & reipublicæ dignitatem.

Laur. Med. ad Polit. ap. Fabr. v. i. *p.* 166.

the progreſs made in the education of his children. Theſe confidential letters enable us to form a more accurate idea of the diſpoſition of their author, than we can collect from any of his writings intended for publication. Reſtleſs, impatient of control, concentering all merit in the acquiſition of learning, he could brook no oppoſition to his authority. The intervention of Madonna Clarice, in the direction of her children, was in his judgment impertinent, becauſe ſhe was unlettered, and a woman. In one of his letters he earneſtly requeſts that Lorenzo will delegate to him a more extenſive power; whilſt in another, written on the ſame day, he acknowledges that this requeſt was made under the impulſe of paſſion, and ſolicits indulgence for the infirmity of his temper. The ſubſequent eminence of his pupils renders theſe letters intereſting (*a*). What friend of literature can be indifferent to the infancy of Leo the Tenth? "Piero," ſays Politiano, "attends "to his ſtudies with tolerable diligence. We "daily make excurſions through the neighbour-"hood, we viſit the gardens with which this city "abounds, and ſometimes look into the library "of Maeſtro Zambino, where I have found ſome "good pieces, both in Greek and Latin. Giovanni "rides out on horſeback, and the people follow "him in crowds." From Piſtoia the family retired in the cloſe of the year to Caſſagiolo, where they paſſed the winter; from whence Politiano continued

(*a*) They are given, from the collection of Fabroni, in the Appendix to the preſent volume, *No.* LIX.

his

his correſpondence with Lorenzo, and occaſionally addreſſed himſelf to his mother, Madonna Lucretia between whom and this eminent ſcholar there ſubſiſted a friendly and confidential intercourſe. Theſe letters afford an additional proof of the querulouſneſs of genius, and may ſerve to reconcile mediocrity to its placid inſignificance (*a*). "The only "news I can ſend you," thus he writes to this lady, "is, that we have here ſuch continual rains "that it is impoſſible to quit the houſe, and the "exerciſes of the country are changed for childiſh "ſports within doors. Here I ſtand by the fire-"ſide, in my great coat and ſlippers, that you "might take me for the very figure of melancholy. "Indeed I am the ſame at all times; for I neither "ſee, nor hear, nor do any thing that gives me "pleaſure, ſo much am I affected by the thoughts "of our calamities; ſleeping and waking they ſtill "continue to haunt me. Two days ſince we were "all rejoicing upon hearing that the plague had "ceaſed—now we are depreſſed on being informed "that ſome ſymptoms of it yet remain. Were "we at Florence we ſhould have ſome conſolation, "were it only that of ſeeing Lorenzo when he "returned to his houſe; but here we are in con-"tinual anxiety, and I, for my part, am half "dead with ſolitude and wearineſs. The plague "and the war are inceſſantly in my mind. I "lament paſt misfortunes, and anticipate future "evils; and I have no longer at my ſide my dear "Madonna Lucretia, to whom I might unboſom

(*a*) *v. App. No.* LX.

" my cares." Such is the melancholy ſtrain in which Politiano addreſſes the mother of Lorenzo; but we ſeldom complain except to thoſe we eſteem, and this letter is a better evidence of the feelings of Politiano, than a volume of well-turned compliments.

In conciliating the regard of Clarice, Politiano was not equally fortunate. Her interference with him in his office, appeared to him as an unpardonable intruſion. " As for Giovanni," ſays he, " his mother employs him in reading the pſalter, " which I by no means commend. Whilſt ſhe " declined interfering with him, it is aſtoniſhing " how rapidly he improved, inſomuch that he " read without any aſſiſtance. There is nothing," he proceeds, " which I aſk more earneſtly of " Heaven, than that I may be able to convince " you of my fidelity, my diligence, and my " patience, which I would prove even by my " death. Many things however I omit, that amidſt " your numerous avocations I may not add to " your ſolicitude." When Politiano wrote thus to his patron, it is not to be ſuppoſed that his conduct at Caſſagiolo was diſtinguiſhed by moderation or complacency. The diſſenſions between him and Madonna Clarice conſequently increaſed, till at length the intemperance or the arrogance of Politiano afforded her a juſt pretext for compelling him to quit the houſe. By a letter from Clarice to her huſband on this occaſion, we are informed of the provocation which ſhe received, and muſt confeſs that ſhe had ſufficient cauſe for

the meaſures ſhe adopted; for what woman can bear with patience the ſtings of ridicule (*a*)? "I "ſhall be glad," ſays ſhe, "to eſcape being made "the ſubject of a tale of Franco's, as Luigi Pulci "was; nor do I like that Meſſer Agnolo ſhould "threaten that he would remain in the houſe in "ſpite of me. You remember I told you, that "if it was your will he ſhould ſtay, I was per-"fectly contented; and although I have ſuffered "infinite abuſe from him, yet if it be with your "aſſent, I am ſatisfied. But I do not believe it "to be ſo." On this trying occaſion, as on many others, Politiano experienced the indulgence and friendſhip of Lorenzo, who, ſeeing that a reconciliation between the contending perties was impracticable, allowed the baniſhed ſcholar a reſidence in his houſe at Fieſole. No longer fretted by female oppoſition, or wearied with the monotonous taſk of inculcating learning, his mind ſoon recovered its natural tone; and the fruits of the leiſure which he enjoyed yet appear in a beautiful Latin poem, inferior in its kind only to the Georgics of Virgil, and to which he gave the title of *Ruſticus*. In the cloſe of this poem, he thus expreſſes his gratitude to his conſtant benefactor:

Talia FESULEO lentus meditabar in antro,
Rure ſub urbano Medicum, qua mons facer urbem
Mæoniam, longique volumina deſpicit ARNI.
Qua bonus hoſpitium felix, placidamque quietem

(*a*) The letter of Clarice to her husband is given in the Appendix, *No.* LXI.

Indulget LAURENS, LAURENS haud ultima Phœbi
Gloria, jactatis LAURENS fida anchora muſis;
Qui ſi certa magis permiſerit otia nobis,
Affiabor majore Deo. ——

Thus flow the ſtrains, whilſt here at eaſe reclin'd
At length the ſweets of calm repoſe I find;
Where FESULÉ, with high impending brow,
O'erlooks Mæonian FLORENCE ſtretch'd below.
Whilſt ARNO, winding through the mild domain,
Leads in repeated folds his lengthen'd train;
Nor thou thy poet's grateful ſtrain refuſe,
LORENZO! ſure reſource of every muſe;
Whoſe praiſe, ſo thou his leiſure hour prolong,
Shall claim the tribute of a nobler ſong.

Were we to give implicit credit to the teſtimony of his tutor, Piero de' Medici united in himſelf all the great qualities by which his progenitors had been ſucceſſively diſtinguiſhed: "The talents of "his father, the virtues of his grandfather, and the "prudence of the venerable Coſmo (*a*)." Lorenzo himſelf had certainly formed a favorable opinion of his capacity; and is ſaid to have remarked that his eldeſt ſon would be diſtinguiſhed for ability, his ſecond for probity, his third by an amiable temper (*b*). The fondneſs of a parent was gratified

(*a*) Scis autem quam gratus multitudini ſit & civibus, Petrus noſter, non minus jam ſua, quam familiæ gloria; ſcilicet in quo Patris ingenium, Patrui virtus, Patrui magni humanitas, Avi probitas, Proavi prudentia, pietas Abavi reviviſcit: omnium vero majorum ſuorum liberalitas, omniumque animus. *Pol. Ep. lib.* xii. *Ep.* 6.

(*b*) *Valori in vitâ Laur. p.* 64.

in obſerving thoſe inſtances of an extraordinary memory, which Piero diſplayed in his childhood, and in liſtening to the poetical pieces which he was accuſtomed to recite to the familiar circle of friends, who perhaps admired, and certainly applauded his efforts. Among theſe were ſome of the whimſical productions of Matteo Franco (*a*). As he advanced in years, his father was deſirous that he ſhould always participate in the converſation of thoſe eminent ſcholars who frequented the palace of the Medici; and it was with pleaſure that Lorenzo ſaw the mutual attachment that ſubſiſted between his ſon and the profeſſors of literature in general (*b*). The celebrated epiſtles of Politiano, which were

(*a*) Quin idem parens tuus, penè infantem adhuc te, quædam ex his (Franci carminibus) facetiora, iidiculi gratia docebat, quæ tu deinde inter adductus amicos balbutiebas, & eleganti quodam geſtu, qui quidem illam deceret ætatulam, commendabas. *Pol. Ep. ad Pet. Med. lib.* x. *Ep.* 12.

(*b*) Landino, in his dedication of the works of Virgil to Piero de' Medici, thus adverts to the attention of Lorenzo to the education of his children, and particularly of Piero: "Plurima ſunt quæ in illo "(Laurentio) admirer; ſed illud præ ceteris, quod in liberis educandis "indulgentioris quidem parentis numquam, optimi vero ac ſapientiſſi- "mi ſemper, ſumma ſedulitate officium compleverit. In te vero "informando, atque erudiendo, quid umquam omiſit? Nam quamvis "ipſe per ſe quotidie admoneret, præciperet, ac juberet, tamen cum "ſciret quanti eſſet, ne a Præceptoris latere umquam diſcederes, ex "omni hominum doctorum copia, Angelum Politianum elegit, virum "multa ac varia doctrina eruditum, Poetam vero egregium, egregi- "umque Oratorem, ac denique totius antiquitatis diligentem per- "ſcrutatorem cui puerilem ætatem tuam & optimis moribus fingendam, "& optimis artibus ac diſciplinis excolendam traderet." *Band. Spec. Lit. Flor.* v. i. *p.* 222. *in not.*

collected by their author at the inſtance of Piero, and to whom they are inſcribed in terms of grateful affection, bear ample teſtimony to his acquirements; and the frequent mention made of his name by the learned correſpondents of Politiano, is a convincing proof of his attention to their intereſts, and his attachment to the cauſe of letters. Happy if the day that opened with ſuch promiſing appearances had not been ſo ſuddenly overclouded;

——— *Sed zephyri ſpes portavere paternas.*

and Piero, by one inconſiderate ſtep, which his ſubſequent efforts could never retrieve, rendered ineffectual all the ſolicitude of his father, and all the leſſons of his youth.

Giovanni, the ſecond ſon of Lorenzo, was deſtined from his infancy to the church. Early brought forward into public view, and ſtrongly impreſſed with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of a grave deportment, he ſeems never to have been a child. At ſeven years of age he was admitted into holy orders, and received the tonſura from Gentile, biſhop of Arezzo. From thenceforth he was called Meſſer Giovanni, and was ſoon afterwards declared capable of eccleſiaſtical preferment. Before he was eight years of age he was appointed by Louis XI. of France, abbot of Fonte Dolce, which was immediately ſucceeded by a preſentation from the ſame patron, to the archbiſhopric of Aix in Provence; but in this inſtance the liberality of the king was oppoſed by an invincible objection, for before the inveſtiture could be obtained from the pope, information was received

at Florence that the archbiſhop was yet living. This diſappointment was however compenſated by the abbacy of the rich monaſtery of Paſignano (*a*). Of the glaring indecorum of beſtowing ſpiritual functions on a child, Lorenzo was fully ſenſible, and he accordingly endeavoured to counteract the unfavorable impreſſion which it might make on the public mind, by inculcating upon his ſon the ſtricteſt attention to his manners, his morals, and his improvement. He had too much ſagacity not to be convinced, that the ſureſt method of obtaining the rewards of merit is to deſerve them; and Meſſer Giovanni was not more diſtinguiſhed from his youthful aſſociates by the high promotions which he enjoyed, than he was by his attention to his ſtudies, his ſtrict performance of the duties enjoined him, and his inviolable regard to truth.

In providing for the expenſes of the wars in which the Florentines had been engaged, conſiderable debts had been incurred; and as they had not yet learnt the deſtructive expedient of anticipating their future revenue, or transferring their own burdens to their poſterity, it became neceſſary to provide for the payment of theſe demands. Beſides the debts contracted in the name of the republic, Lorenzo had been obliged to have recourſe to his agents in different countries to borrow large ſums of money, which had been applied to the exigencies of the ſtate; but it was

(*a*) Theſe particulars are circumſtantially related in the Ricordi of Lorenzo, who ſeems to have intereſted himſelf in the early promotion of his ſon with uncommon earneſtneſs. *v. App. No.* LXII.

no improbable conjecture, that the money which had been lavishly expended during the heat of the conteſt would be repaid with reluctance when the ſtruggle was over. Theſe conſiderations occaſioned him great anxiety; for whilſt on the one hand he dreaded the diſgrace of being wanting in the performance of his pecuniary engagements, he was not perhaps leſs apprehenſive on the other hand of diminiſhing his influence in Florence, by the impoſition of additional taxes. From this difficulty he ſaw no poſſibility of extricating himſelf, but by the moſt rigid attention, as well to the improvement of the public revenue, as to the ſtate of his own concerns. The increaſing proſperity of the city of Florence ſeconded his efforts, and in a ſhort time the creditors of the ſtate were fully reimburſed, without any increaſe of the public burdens. His own engagements yet remained incomplete; but whilſt he was endeavouring, from his large property and extenſive concerns, to diſcharge the demands againſt him, a decree providing for the payment of his debts out of the public treaſury relieved him from his difficulties, and proved that the affection of his fellow-citizens yet remained unimpaired (*a*). Lorenzo did not however receive this mark of eſteem, without bitterly exclaiming againſt the negligence and imprudence of his factors and correſpondents, who, by their inattention to his affairs, had reduced him to the neceſſity of accepting ſuch a favor. From this period he determined to cloſe his mercantile

(*a*) *Valori in vitâ Laur. p.* 38.

concerns with all poſſible expedition, well conſidering, that beſides the inherent uncertainty of theſe tranſactions, the ſucceſs of them depended too much on the induſtry and integrity of others. He therefore reſolved to turn his attention to occupations more particularly under his own inſpection, and to relinquiſh the fluctuating advantages of commerce, for the more certain revenue derived from the cultivation of his rich farms and extenſive poſſeſſions in different parts of Tuſcany.

His villa of Poggio-Cajano was, in his intervals of leiſure, his favorite reſidence. Here he erected a magnificent manſion (*a*), and formed the complete eſtabliſhment of a princely farmer. Of this fertile domain, and of the labors of Lorenzo in its cultivation and improvement, one of his contemporaries has left a very particular and authentic deſcription (*b*). "The village of Cajano," ſays he, "is built on the eaſy ſlope of a hill, and is at the "diſtance of about ten miles from Florence. The "road to it from the city is very ſpacious, and "excellent even in winter, and is in every reſpect "ſuitable for all kinds of carriages. The river "Ombrone winds round it with a ſmooth deep "ſtream, affording great plenty of fiſh. The villa

(*a*) ——— Medicum quid tecta ſuperba,
Carregi, & Trebii: Feſulana aut condita rupe
Comemorem? jures Luculli tecta ſuperba:
Quaque, ſine exemplo *Cajana* palatia *Laurens*
Aedificat, quorum ſcandet faſtigia, tanquam
Per planum iret eques, parteſque equitabit in omnes.
Ug. Verini de illuſt. Urb. lib. ii.

(*b*) *Mic. Verini Ep.* xvi. *ap. Band. Cat. Bib. Laur. v.* iii. *p.* 483.

" of Lorenzo is denominated *Ambra*, either from " the name of the river, or on account of its ex- " traordinary beauty. His fields are occaſionally " refreſhed with ſtreams of fine and wholeſome " water, which Lorenzo, with that magnificence " which characterizes all his undertakings, has " conveyed by an aqueduct over mountains and " precipices for many miles (*a*). The houſe is not " yet built, but the foundations are laid. Its ſitu- " ation is midway between Florence and Piſtoia. " Towards the north, a ſpacious plain extends to " the river, and is protected from the floods, " which ſudden rains ſometimes occaſion, by an " immenſe embankment. From the facility with " which it is watered in ſummer, it is ſo fertile, " that three crops of hay are cut in each year; " but it is manured every other year leſt the ſoil " ſhould be exhauſted. On an eminence about " the midle of the farm are very extenſive ſtables, " the floors of which, for the ſake of cleanlineſs, are " laid with ſtone. Theſe buildings are ſurrounded " with high walls and a deep moat, and have four " towers like a caſtle. Here are kept a great number " of moſt fertile and productive cows, which afford

(*a*) This aqueduct is frequently celebrated in the poems of Politiano.

In fontem Laurentii Medicis Ambram.

" Ut laſciva ſuo furtim daret oſcula Lauro,
" Ipſa ſibi occultas reperit Ambra vias."

And again,

In eumdem.

" Traxit amatrices hæc uſque ad limina Nymphas,
" Dum jactat Laurum ſæpius Ambra ſuum."

" a quantity of cheeſe, equal to the ſupply of the " city and vicinity of Florence; ſo that it is now " no longer neceſſary to procure it as formerly " from Lombardy. A brood of hogs fed by the " whey grow to a remarkable ſize. The villa " abounds with quails, and other birds, particu- " larly water fowl, ſo that the diverſion of fowling " is enjoyed here without fatigue. Lorenzo has " alſo furniſhed the woods with pheaſants and " with peacocks which he procured from Sicily. " His orchards and gardens are moſt luxuriant, " extending along the banks of the river. His " plantation of mulberry trees is of ſuch extent, " that we may hope ere long to have a diminution " in the price of ſilk. But why ſhould I proceed " in my deſcription ? come and ſee the place " yourſelf; and you will acknowledge, like the " queen of Sheba when ſhe viſited Solomon, that " the report is not adequate to the truth."

Like the gardens of Alcinous, the farm of Lorenzo has frequently been celebrated in the language of poetry. To his own poem, on the deſtruction of his labors by the violence of the river, we have before adverted (*a*). Politiano thus concludes his Sylva devoted to the praiſes of Homer, to which, on account of its having been written at this place, he has given the name of *Ambra* (*b*):

(*a*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 287. and *v.* the poem of *Ambra* in *vol.* iv.

(*b*) Politiano addreſſed this poem to Lorenzo Tornabuoni, the couſin of Lorenzo de' Medici, of whom a very favorable character may be found in the letters of Politiano (*Lib.* xii. *Ep.* 6.). " Debe-

Macte opibus, macte ingenio, meo gloria LAURENS,
Gloria muſarum LAURENS! monteſque propinquos
Perfodis, & longo ſuſpenſos excipis arcu,
Prægelidas ducturus aquas, qua prata ſupinum
Lata videt podium, riguis uberrima lymphis;
Aggere tuta novo, piſcoſiſque undique ſepta
Limitibus, per quæ multo ſervante moloſſo
Plena Tarentinis ſuccreſcunt ubera vaccis;
Atque aliud nigris miſſum (quis credat) ab Indis,
Ruminat ignotas armentum diſcolor herbas.
At vituli tepidis clauſi fœnilibus intus,
Expectant tota fugendas nocte parentes.
Interea magnis lac denſum bullit ahenis,
Brachiaque exertus ſenior, tunicataque pubes
Comprimit, & longa ſiccandum ponit in umbra.
Utque piæ paſcuntur oves, ita vaſtus obeſo
Corpore, ſus calaber cavea ſtat clauſus olenti,
Atque aliam ex alia poſcit grunnitibus eſcam.
Celtiber ecce ſibi latebroſa cuniculus antra
Perforat; innumerus net ſerica vellera bombyx;
At vaga floriferos errant diſperſa per hortos,
Multiſorumque replent operoſa examina ſuber;
Et genus omne avium captivis inſtrepit alis.
Dumque Antenorei volucris criſtata Timavi
Parturit, & cuſtos capitoli gramina tondet,
Multa lacu ſe merſat anas, ſubitaque volantes
Nube diem fuſcant Veneris tutela columbæ.

" tur hæc ſilva tibi, vel argumento, vel titulo, nam & Homeri ſtudio-
" ſus es, quaſique noſter conſectaneus, & propinquus Laurenti
" Medicis, ſummi præcellentiſque viri, qui ſcilicet Ambram ipſam
" Cajanam, prædium (ut ita dixerim) omniferum, quaſi pro laxamen-
" to ſibi delegit civiliũm laborum. Tibi ergo pœmation hoc quale-
" cunque eſt, nuncupamus, &c." Pridie nonas Nov. MCCCCLXXXV.

Go on, Lorenzo, thou the muſe's pride,
Pierce the hard rock and ſcoop the mountain's ſide;
The diſtant ſtreams ſhall hear thy potent call,
And the proud arch receive them as they fall.
Thence o'er thy fields the genial waters lead,
That with luxuriant verdure crown the mead.
There riſe thy mounds th'oppoſing flood that ward,
There thy domains thy faithful maſtives guard.
Tarentum there her horned cattle ſends,
Whoſe ſwelling teats the milky rill diſtends;
There India's breed of various colors range,
Pleas'd with the novel ſcene and paſtures ſtrange,
Whilſt nightly clos'd within their ſhelter'd ſtall,
For the due treat their lowing offspring call.
Mean time the milk in ſpacious coppers boils,
With arms upſtript the elder ruſtic toils,
The young aſſiſt the curdled maſs to ſqueeze,
And place in cooling ſhades the recent cheeſe.
Wide o'er thy downs extends thy fleecy charge;
There the Calabrian hog obeſe and large,
Loud from his ſty demands his conſtant food;
And Spain ſupplies thee with thy rabbit brood.
Where mulberry groves their length of ſhadow ſpread,
Secure the ſilk-worm ſpins his luſtrous thread;
And cull'd from every flower the plunderer meets,
The bee regales thee with her rifled ſweets.
There birds of various plume, and various note,
Flutter their captive wings; with cackling throat
The Paduan fowl betrays her future breed,
And there the geeſe, once Rome's preſervers, feed,
And ducks amuſive ſport amidſt thy floods,
And doves, the pride of Venus, throng thy woods.

When Lorenzo was prevented by his numerous avocations from enjoying his retreat at Poggio-Cajano, his other villas in the vicinity of Florence afforded him an opportunity of devoting to his own uſe, or the ſociety of his friends, thoſe ſhorter intervals of time which he could withdraw from the ſervice of the public. His reſidence at Careggi was in every reſpect ſuitable to his rank. The houſe, which was erected by his grandfather, and enlarged by his father, was ſufficiently commodious. The adjacent grounds, which poſſeſſed every natural advantage that wood and water could afford, were improved and planted under his own directions (*a*), and his gardens were provided with every vegetable, either for ornament or uſe, which the moſt diligent reſearch could ſupply (*b*). But Fieſole ſeems to

(*a*) Theſe particulars are adverted to in the following lines of Franceſco Camerlini:

Alluſio in Villam Caregium Laurentii Medices.

Caregium gratæ charites habitare feruntur,
Gratus ager, chari gratior umbra loci,
Coſmus honos, patriæque pater conſtruxerat aedes,
Diſpoſuitque emptos ordine primus agros.
Degener haud tanto natus Petrus inde parenti,
Curavit partes amplificare ſuas.
Vixque tibi, Laurens, in tanta mole reliquit
Quod peragas, niſi quod maxima ſemper agis,
Tu dignos Faunis lucos, fonteſque Napæis
Struxiſti, & deceant quæ modo rura Deos.
Band. Cat. Bib. Laur. v. iii. *p.* 545.

(*b*) This was perhaps one of the earlieſt collections of plants in Europe, which deſerves the name of a Botanical Garden; the authority of Sabbati, who dates the commencement of that at Rome in

have been the general resort of his literary friends, to many of whom he allotted habitations in the neighbourhood, during the amenity of the summer months. Of these Politiano and Pico were the most constant, and perhaps the most welcome guests. Landino, Scala, and Ficino were also frequent in their visits; and Crinitus, the pupil of Politiano, and Marullus, his rival in letters and in love, were occasionally admitted to this select society (*a*). "Superior perhaps," says Voltaire (substituting however Lascar and Chalcondyles, for Scala and Crinitus), "to that of the boasted "sages of Greece." Of the beauties of this place

the pontificate of Nicholas V. about the year 1450, being rejected by our eminent botanist Dr. Smith; who gives the priority to that of Padua in 1533. *v. Sabb. Hort. Rom. v.* i. *p.* 1. *Dr. Smith's Introduct. Discourse to the Transact. of the Linn. Soc. p.* 8. Of the garden of Lorenzo a very particular account is given by Alessandro Braccio in a Latin poem addressed to Bernardo Bembo, and preserved in the Laurentian Library, *Plut.* lxxxxi. *sup. cod.* 41. *Band. Cat. v.* iii. *p.* 787.; from which catalogue I shall insert it in the Appendix, *No.* LXIII.

(*a*) Petrus Crinitus (or Piero de' Ricci) thus addresses Marullus:

Nuper Fæsuleis (ut soleo) jugis,
Mentem Lesbiaco carmine molliter
Solari libuit: mox teneram chelyn,
Myrto sub viridi deposui, & gradum,
Placuit ad urbem flectere,
Qua noster *Medices* pieridum Parens
Marulle, hospitium dulce tibi exhibet,
Ac te perpetuis muneribus fovens,
Phœbum non patitur tela resumere.
Laurens Camœnarum decus.

Crin. op. Lugd. 1554. *p.* 553.

and of the friendly intercourſe that ſubſiſted among theſe eminent men, Politiano, in a letter to Ficino, gives us ſome idea (*a*). "When you "are incommoded," ſays he, "with the heat of "the ſeaſon in your retreat at Careggi, you will "perhaps think the ſhelter of Fieſole not unde- "ſerving your notice. Seated between the ſloping "ſides of the mountain, we have here water in "abundance, and being conſtantly refreſhed with "moderate winds, find little inconvenience from "the glare of the ſun. As you approach the houſe "it ſeems emboſomed in the wood, but when "you reach it, you find it commands a full "proſpect of the city. Populous as the vicinity "is, yet I can here enjoy that ſolitude ſo grati- "fying to my diſpoſition. But I ſhall tempt you "with other allurements. Wandering beyond the "limits of his own plantation, Pico ſometimes "ſteals unexpectedly on my retirement, and draws "me from my ſhades to partake of his ſupper. "What kind of ſupper that is you well know; "ſparing indeed, but neat, and rendered grate- "ful by the charms of his converſation. Be you "however my gueſt. Your ſupper here ſhall be "as good, and your wine perhaps better, for in "the quality of my wine I ſhall contend for "ſuperiority even with Pico himſelf."

Beſides his places of reſidence before noticed, Lorenzo had large poſſeſſions in different parts of Tuſcany. His houſe at Caſſagiolo, near the village of that name among the romantic ſcenes of the

(*a*) *Pol. Ep. lib.* x. *Ep.* 14.

Appenines,

Appenines, had been the favorite reſidence of his grandfather Coſmo; who, on being aſked why he preferred this place to his more convenient habitation at Fieſole, is ſaid to have aſſigned as a reaſon, that Caſſagiolo ſeemed pleaſanter, becauſe all the country he could ſee from his windows was his own. At Agnana, in the territory of Piſa, Lorenzo had a fertile domain, which he improved by draining and bringing into cultivation the extenſive marſhes that lay in its neighbourhood, the completion of which was only prevented by his death (*a*). Another eſtate in the diſtrict of Volterra was rendered extremely fruitful by his labors, and yielded him an ample revenue. Valori relates, that Lorenzo was highly gratified with the amuſement of horſe-racing, and that he kept many horſes for this purpoſe, amongſt which was a roan, that on every occaſion bore away the prize. The ſame author profeſſes to have heard from Politiano, that as often as this horſe happened to be ſick, or was wearied with the courſe, he refuſed any nouriſhment except from the hands of Lorenzo, at whoſe approach he teſtified his pleaſure by neighing and by motions of his body, even whilſt lying on the ground; ſo that it is not to be wondered at, ſays this author, by a kind of commendation rather more ſtriking than juſt, that Lorenzo ſhould be the delight of mankind, when even the brute creation expreſſed an affection for him (*b*).

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 39.

(*b*) Delectabatur maxime equorum curſu. Quare equos plurimos habuit in delitiis, in quibus ille fuit, quem de colore morellum appel-

In the year 1484, at which time Piero de' Medici, the eldeſt ſon of Lorenzo, was about fourteen years of age, his father judged it expedient to ſend him to Rome on a viſit to the pope, and appointed Scala and Politiano as his companions. He did not however implicitly confide in their diſcretion, but drew up himſelf very full and explicit directions for the conduct of his ſon during his abſence. Theſe inſtructions yet remain, and may ſerve, as much as any circumſtance whatever, to give us an idea of the ſagacity and penetration of Lorenzo, and of his attention, not only to the regulation of the manners of his ſon, but to the promotion of his own views (*a*). He adviſes him to ſpeak naturally, without affectation, not to be anxious to diſplay his learning, to uſe expreſſions of civility, and to addreſs himſelf with ſerioufneſs, and yet with eaſe to all. On his arrival at Rome, he cautions him not to take precedence of his countrymen who are his ſuperiors in age; "for though you are my ſon," ſays he, "you will remember that you are only a "citizen of Florence like themſelves." He ſuggeſts

labant, tantae pernicitatis, ut ex omnibus certaminibus victoriam ſemper reportaverit. De hoc equo ipſe a Politiano audivi, quod mirum legentibus videatur, non tamen novum, eum, quoties vel ægrotaret, vel defeſſus eſſet, niſi a Laurentio oblatum cibum omnem faſtidire ſolitum, & quotieſcumque ille accederet, motu corporis, & hinnitu, quamvis humi proſtratum, animi lætitiam fuiſſe teſtatum, ut non jam mirum ſit tantopere hominibus gratum, quem etiam feræ dilexerint. *Valor. in vitâ, p.* 49.

(*a*) This curious paper of private inſtructions from Lorenzo to his ſon yet remains, and is given in the Appendix, from the collection of Fabroni (*No.* LXIV.).

to him what topics it will be proper for him to dwell upon in his interview with the pope; and directs him to express, in the most explicit manner, the devotion of his father to the holy see. He then proceeds to the essential object of his mission. "After having thus recommended me to his holiness, "you will inform him, that your affection for your "brother induces you to speak a word in his favor. "You can here mention that I have educated him "for the priesthood, and shall closely attend to his "learning and his manners, so that he may not dis- "grace his profession. That in this respect I repose "all my hopes on his holiness; who, having already "given us proofs of his kindness and affection, "will add to our obligations by any promotion "which he may think proper to bestow upon him. "Endeavouring by these and similar expressions to "recommend your brother to his favor as much as "lies in your power."

In whatever manner Piero acquitted himself on his youthful embassy, it is probable that this interview accomplished the object on which the future fortunes of his house were so materially to depend, and Giovanni de' Medici, when only thirteen years of age, ranked with the prime supporters of the Roman church. It seems, however, that although the pope had complied with the pressing instances of Lorenzo, in bestowing on his son the dignity of a cardinal, he was not insensible of the indecorum of such a measure, for he expressly prohibited him from assuming the insignia of his rank for three years, requesting that he would apply that interval

to the diligent profecution of his ſtudies. He accordingly went to Piſa, where the regularity of his conduct, and his attention to his improvement, juſtified in ſome degree the extraordinary indulgence which he had experienced; in conſequence of which his father made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the pope to ſhorten the term of his probation. "Truſt "the management of this buſineſs to me," ſaid Innocent, "I have heard of his good conduct, and "of the honors which he has obtained in his col- "lege diſputes. I conſider him as my own ſon, "and ſhall, when it is leaſt expected, order his "promotion to be made public; beſides which, it "is my intention to do much more for his advance- "ment than is at preſent ſuppoſed." The three years were, however, ſuffered to elapſe, and the young cardinal was then admitted to all the honors of his rank, the inveſtiture having been performed by Matteo Boſſo, prior of the monaſtery at Fieſole, who has left, in one of his letters, a particular narrative of the ceremony (*a*). After paſſing a few days with his father at Florence, Giovanni haſtened to Rome to pay his reſpects to the pope. On his approach to that city he was met and congratulated by ſeveral other cardinals, who made no heſitation in receiving into their number ſo young an aſſociate. By the ſerioufneſs and propriety of his demeanor, he obviated as much as poſſible the unfavorable impreſſion which a promotion ſo unprecedented had made on the public mind. Soon after his arrival

(*a*) *Recuperationes Feſulanæ. Ep.* cx. As the work does not frequently occur, I ſhall give this letter in the Appendix, No. LXV.

at Rome, his father addreſſed to him an admonitory letter, as conſpicuous for ſound ſenſe as for paternal affection; but which diſcovers the deep policy of Lorenzo, and the great extent of his views. This letter may, without any unreaſonable aſſumption, be conſidered as the guide of the future life and fortunes of a ſon, who afterwards attained the higheſt rank in Chriſtendom, and ſupported it with a dignity which gave it new luſtre (*a*).

Lorenzo de' Medici,

To Giovanni de' Medici, Cardinal.

" You, and all of us who are intereſted in your " welfare, ought to eſteem ourſelves highly favored " by providence, not only for the many honors " and benefits beſtowed on our houſe, but more " particularly for having conferred upon us, in " your perſon, the greateſt dignity we have ever " enjoyed. This favor, in itſelf ſo important, is " rendered ſtill more ſo by the circumſtances with " which it is accompanied, and eſpecially by the " conſideration of your youth, and of our ſituation " in the world. The firſt thing that I would there- " fore ſuggeſt to you is, that you ought to be " grateful to God, and continually to recollect that " it is not through your merits, your prudence, " or your ſolicitude, that this event has taken

(*a*) The original will be found in the Appendix, No. LXVI. " Hæc epiſtola," ſays Fabroni, " tanquam Cycnea fuit prudentiſſimi " hominis vox & orationis; paulo enim poſt ille mortem obivit." *Fabr. in vitâ*, ii. 313.

" place, but through his favor, which you can
" only repay by a pious, chaſte, and exemplary
" life; and that your obligations to the perform-
" ance of theſe duties are ſo much the greater,
" as in your early years you have given ſome rea-
" ſonable expectation that your riper age may
" produce ſuch fruits. It would indeed be highly
" diſgraceful, and as countrary to your duty as
" to my hopes, if at a time when others diſplay
" a greater ſhare of reaſon, and adopt a better mode
" of life, you ſhould forget the precepts of your
" youth, and forſake the path in which you have
" hitherto trodden. Endeavour therefore to al-
" leviate the burden of your early dignity, by
" the regularity of your life, and by your per-
" ſeverance in thoſe ſtudies which are ſuitable to
" your profeſſion. It gave me great ſatisfaction
" to learn, that, in the courſe of the paſt year,
" you had frequently, of your own accord, gone
" to communion and confeſſion; nor do I con-
" ceive that there is any better way of obtaining
" the favor of heaven, than by habituating your-
" ſelf to a performance of theſe and ſimilar duties.
" This appears to me to be the moſt ſuitable and
" uſeful advice which, in the firſt inſtance, I can
" poſſibly give you.

" I well know, that as you are now to reſide at
" Rome, that ſink of all iniquity, the difficulty of
" conducting yourſelf by theſe admonitions will
" be increaſed. The influence of example is it-
" ſelf prevalent; but you will probably meet with
" thoſe who will particularly endeavour to corrupt

" and incite you to vice; becauſe, as you may
" yourſelf perceive, your early attainment to ſo
" great a dignity is not obſerved without envy,
" and thoſe who could not prevent your receiving
" that honor, will ſecretly endeavour to diminiſh
" it, by inducing you to forfeit the good eſtimation
" of the public; thereby precipitating you into
" that gulf into which they have themſelves fallen;
" in which attempt the conſideration of your
" youth will give them a confidence of ſucceſs.
" To theſe difficulties you ought to oppoſe your-
" ſelf with the greater firmneſs, as there is at preſent
" leſs virtue amongſt your brethren of the college.
" I acknowledge indeed that ſeveral of them are
" good and learned men, whoſe lives are exem-
" plary, and whom I would recommend to you
" as patterns of your conduct. By emulating them
" you will be ſo much the more known and
" eſteemed, in proportion as your age, and the
" peculiarity of your ſituation, will diſtinguiſh
" you from your colleagues. Avoid however, as
" you would Scylla or Charibdis, the imputation
" of hypocriſy; guard againſt all oſtentation, either
" in your conduct or your diſcourſe; affect not
" auſterity, nor even appear too ſerious. This
" advice you will, I hope, in time underſtand and
" practiſe better than I can expreſs it.

" You are not unacquainted with the great im-
" portance of the character which you have to
" ſuſtain, for you well know that all the Chriſtian
" world would proſper if the cardinals were what
" they ought to be; becauſe in ſuch a caſe there

" would always be a good pope, upon which the " tranquillity of Chriſtendom ſo materially de- " pends. Endeavour then to render yourſelf ſuch, " that if all the reſt reſembled you, we might ex- " pect this univerſal bleſſing. To give you par- " ticular directions as to your behaviour and " converſation, would be a matter of no ſmall " difficulty. I ſhall therefore only recommend, " that in your intercourſe with the cardinals, and " other men of rank, your language be unaſſuming " and reſpectful, guiding yourſelf however by your " own reaſon, and not ſubmitting to be impelled " by the paſſions of others, who, actuated by " improper motives, may pervert the uſe of their " reaſon. Let it ſatisfy your conſcience that your " converſation is without intentional offence; and " if, through impetuoſity of temper, any one " ſhould be offended, as his enmity is without " juſt cauſe, ſo it will not be very laſting. On this " your firſt viſit to Rome, it will however be more " adviſable for you to liſten to others than to ſpeak " much yourſelf.

" You are now devoted to God and the church; " on which account you ought to aim at being a " good eccleſiaſtic, and to ſhow that you prefer the " honor and ſtate of the church, and of the apoſtolic " ſee, to every other conſideration. Nor, while " you keep this in view, will it be difficult for " you to favor your family and your native place. " On the contrary, you ſhould be the link to bind " this city cloſer to the church, and our family " with the city; and although it be impoſſible to

" foreſee what accidents may happen, yet I doubt
" not but this may be done with equal advantage
" to all; obſerving, however, that you are always
" to prefer the intereſts of the church.

" You are not only the youngeſt cardinal in the
" college, but the youngeſt perſon that ever was
" raiſed to that rank; and you ought therefore to
" be the moſt vigilant and unaſſuming, not giving
" others occaſion to wait for you either in the chapel,
" the conſiſtory, or upon deputations. You will
" ſoon get a ſufficient inſight into the manners of
" your brethren. With thoſe of leſs reſpectable
" character, converſe not with too much intimacy;
" not merely on account of the circumſtance in
" itſelf, but for the ſake of public opinion. Con-
" verſe on general topics with all. On public
" occaſions let your equipage and dreſs be rather
" below than above mediocrity. A handſome houſe
" and a well-ordered family will be preferable to a
" great retinue and a ſplendid reſidence. Endeavour
" to live with regularity, and gradually to bring
" your expenſes within thoſe bounds which in a
" new eſtabliſhment cannot perhaps be expected.
" Silk and jewels are not ſuitable for perſons in
" your ſtation. Your taſte will be better ſhown in
" the acquiſition of a few elegant remains of anti-
" quity, or in the collecting of handſome books,
" and by your attendants being learned and well-
" bred rather than numerous. Invite others to your
" houſe oftener than you receive invitations. Prac-
" tiſe neither too frequently. Let your own food
" be plain, and take ſufficient exerciſe, for thoſe

" who wear your habit are ſoon liable, without
" great caution, to contract infirmities. The ſtation
" of a cardinal is not leſs ſecure than elevated; on
" which account thoſe who arrive at it too frequently
" become negligent, conceiving that their object is
" attained and that they can preſerve it with little
" trouble. This idea is often injurious to the life
" and character of thoſe who entertain it. Be atten-
" tive therefore to your conduct, and confide in
" others too little rather than too much. There is
" one rule which I would recommend to your at-
" tention in preference to all others: Riſe early in
" the morning. This will not only contribute to
" your health, but will enable you to arrange and
" expedite the buſineſs of the day; and as there
" are various duties incident to your ſtation, ſuch
" as the performance of divine ſervice, ſtudying,
" giving audience, &c. you will find the obſervance
" of this admonition productive of the greateſt
" utility. Another very neceſſary precaution, par-
" ticularly on your entrance into public life, is to
" deliberate every evening on what you have to
" perform the following day, that you may not be
" unprepared for whatever may happen. With
" reſpect to your ſpeaking in the conſiſtory, it will
" be moſt becoming for you at preſent to refer
" the matters in debate to the judgment of his
" holineſs, alledging as a reaſon your own youth
" and inexperience. You will probably be deſired
" to intercede for the favors of the pope on par-
" ticular occaſions. Be cautious however that you
" trouble him not too often; for his temper leads

" him to be moſt liberal to thoſe who weary him
" leaſt with their ſolicitations. This you muſt ob-
" ſerve, leſt you ſhould give him offence, remem-
" bering alſo at times to converſe with him on
" more agreeable topics; and if you ſhould be
" obliged to requeſt ſome kindneſs from him, let
" it be done with that modeſty and humility which
" are ſo pleaſing to his diſpoſition. Farewel."

As the policy of Lorenzo led him to ſupport a powerful influence at Rome, and as he had frequently experienced the good effects of the connexion which ſubſiſted between him and the family of the Orſini, he thought it adviſable to ſtrengthen it; and accordingly propoſed a marriage between his ſon Piero, and Alfonſina, the daughter of Roberto Orſini, count of Tagliacozzo and Albi. This propoſal was eagerly liſtened to by Virginio Orſini, who was then conſidered as the head of that powerful family, the chiefs of which, though ſubordinate to the pope, ſcarcely conſidered themſelves as ſubjects, and frequently acted with the independence of ſovereign princes. In the month of March 1487, theſe nuptials were celebrated at Naples, in the preſence of the king and his court with extraordinary pomp (*a*). Lorenzo, on his marriage with Clarice Orſini, had received no portion; but the reputation which he had now acquired was more than an equivalent for the pride

(*a*) Si fece lo ſpoſalitio in Caſtello, nella Sala grande, preſente il Re e tutta la Corte, con gran cena, e feſta. Il Re non poeta fare maggiori dimoſtrazioni verſo il Sig. Virginio. *Bern. Oricellarii Ep. ap. Fabr. v.* ii. *p.* 316.

of anceſtry, and Virginio agreed to pay 12,000 Neapolitan ducats as a portion with his daughter (*a*). On this occaſion Piero was accompanied by Bernardo Rucellai, who had married Nannina, one of the ſiſters of Lorenzo, and who has not only ſignalized himſelf as a protector of learned men, but was himſelf one of the moſt accompliſhed ſcholars of his time (*b*).

(*b*) *Extant in Filz.* 1. I capitoli di matrimonio tra l'Alfonſina de Urſinis figlia del quondam Roberto de Urſinis conte di Tagliacozzo e d'Albi, e Piero de' Medici, comparente Virginio de Urſinis fratel conſobrino. Dos fuit Ducatorum Neapolitanorum 12,000 *Fabr. ut ſup.*

(*c*) The talents and acquirements of Rucellai juſtly entitled him to the honor of ſo near an alliance with the family of the Medici. His public life has indeed incurred the cenſure of the Florentine hiſtorians of the ſucceeding century, who wrote under the preſſure of a deſpotic government; but it is not difficult to perceive that his crime was an ardent love of liberty, which he preferred to the claims of kindred, and the expectations of perſonal aggrandizement. *Ammir. Opuſc. vol.* ii. *Elog.* ii. 161. *Comment. di Nerli. p.* 64. His Latin hiſtorical works, "*De Bello Italico,*" and "*De Bello Piſano,*" have merited the approbation of the diſcriminating Eraſmus. "Novi Venetiæ," ſays he, "Bernardum Ocricularium (Oricellarium) cujus Hiſtorias ſi "legiſſes, dixiſſes alterum *Salluſtium,* aut certe Salluſtii temporibus ſcriptas." *Apotheg. lib.* viii. The former of theſe works was firſt published at London by Brindley in 1724, and again by William Bowyer, with the treatiſe *de Bello Piſano,* in 1733. Bernardo was alſo a poet, and appears in the *Canti Carnaſcialeſchi* as the author of the *Trionfo della Calunnia. Cant. Carnas. p.* 125. But the poetical reputation of Bernardo is eclipſed by that of his ſon Giovanni Rucellai, author of the tragedy of *Roſmunda.* and of that beautiful didactic poem *Le Api,* which will remain a laſting monument that the Italian language requires not the ſhackles of rhime to render it harmonious. "Homme de Goût (ſays Tenhove) dans vos promenades ſolitaires "prenez quelquefois ſon poême.

The marriage of Pier de'Medici was ſoon afterwards followed by that of his ſiſter Maddalena with Franceſco Cibò, the ſon of the pope, and who then bore the title of count of Anguillara (*a*). Of the three other daughters of Lorenzo, Lucretia intermarried with Giacopo Salviati (*b*), Conteſſina with Piero Ridolfi, and Louiſa, his youngeſt, after having been betrothed to Giovanni de' Medici, of a collateral branch of the ſame family, died before the time appointed for the nuptials (*c*).

" Ed odi quel che ſopra un verde prato,
" Cinto d'abeti e d'onorati allori,
" Che bagna or un muſcoſo e chiaro fonte,
" Canta de l'api del ſuo florid' orto."

(*a*) Theſe nuptials were celebrated at Rome in the year 1488. Maddalena, who was very young, was accompanied by Matteo Franco, the facetious correſpondent of Pulci, (*vol.* I. *p.* 256.) the vivacity of whoſe character did not prevent Lorenzo from ſelecting him for this important truſt, in the execution of which he conciliated in a high degree the favor of the pope, and his courtiers.

Pol. Ep. lib. x. *Ep.* 12.

(*b*) *Vide vol.* I. *p.* 211.

(*c*) Beſides his three ſons and four daughters before enumerated, Lorenzo had other children, all of whom died in their infancy, as appears by a letter from him to Politiano; who having occaſion to acquaint him with the indiſpoſition of ſome part of his family, and being fearful of alarming him, addreſſed his letter to Michellozzi, the ſecretary of Lorenzo. In his anſwer, Lorenzo reproves, with ſome degree of ſerioufneſs, the ill-timed diſtruſt of Politiano, and with true ſtoical dignity, declares that it gave him more uneaſineſs than the intelligence that accompanied it. "Can you then conceive," ſays he, " that my temper is ſo infirm, as to be diſturbed by ſuch an event? " If my diſpoſition had been by nature weak, and liable to be impelled " by every guſt, yet experience has taught me how to brave the " ſtorm. I have not only known what it is to bear the ſickneſs, but " even the death of ſome of my children. The untimely loſs of my

In the year 1488, Piero de' Medici took a journey to Milan, to be present at the celebration of the nuptials of the young duke Galeazzo Sforza, with Isabella, grand daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples. The whole expense of this journey was defrayed by Lodovico Sforza, who paid a marked respect to Piero, and directed that he should always appear in public at the side of the duke. By a letter yet existing from the Florentine legate to Lorenzo de' Medici, it appears that these nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence (*a*); but amidst the splendor of diamonds and the glitter of brocade, were entwined the serpents of treachery and of guilt. Even in giving the hand of Isabella to a nephew, whom he regarded rather as an implement of his ambition than as his lawful sovereign, Lodovico burnt with a criminal passion for her himself; and the gravest of the Italian historians assures us, that it was the public opinion that he had by means of magic and incantations prevented the consummation of a marriage, which while it promoted his political views, deprived him of the object of his love (*b*). The prejudices of the age, and the wickedness of Lodovico, sufficiently countenance the probability of such an attempt; but that the means employed were so

" father when I was in my twenty-first year, left me so much exposed " to the attacks of fortune, that life became a burden to me. You " ought therefore to have known, that if nature denied me firmness, " experience has supplied the defect."

Laur. Ep. in. Ep. Pol. lib. x. *Ep.* 5.

(*a*) *v. App. No.* LXVII.

(*b*) *Guicciard. Hist. d'Italia, lib.* i.

far ſucceſsful, as to prevent that circumſtance taking place for ſeveral months, is an aſſertion, of the veracity of which poſterity may be allowed to doubt.

Of this princeſs an incident is recorded which does equal honor to her conjugal affection and her filial piety (*a*). When Charles VIII. of France, at the inſtigation of Lodovico Sforza, entered Italy, a few years after her marriage, for the avowed purpoſe of depriving her father of the throne of Naples, he paſſed through Pavia, where the young duke then lay on his death-bed, not without giving riſe to ſuſpicions that he had been poiſoned. Touched with his misfortunes, and mindful of the relationſhip between Galeazzo and himſelf, who were ſiſters children, Charles reſolved to ſee him. The preſence of Lodovico, who did not chuſe to riſque the conſequences of a private and confidential interview, whilſt it reſtricted the converſation of the king to formal inquiries about the health of the duke, and wiſhes for his recovery, excited both in him and in all preſent a deeper compaſſion for the unhappy prince. Iſabella perceived the general ſympathy; and throwing herſelf at the feet of the monarch, recommended to his protection her unfortunate huſband and her infant ſon; at the ſame time, by tears and entreaties, earneſtly endeavouring to turn his reſentment from her father and the houſe of Aragon. Attracted by her beauty, and moved by her ſolicitations, Charles appeared for a

(*a*) *Guicciard. Hiſt. d'Italia, lib.i.*

moment to relent, and the fate of Italy was ſuſpended in the balance; but the king recollecting the importance of his preparations, and the expectations which his enterpriſe had excited, ſoon ſteeled his feelings againſt this feminine attack, and reſolved, in ſpite of the ſuggeſtions of pity and the claims of humanity, to perſevere in his deſign.

Having now ſecured the tranquillity of Italy and the proſperity of his family by every means that prudence could dictate, Lorenzo began to enjoy the fruits of his labors. Theſe he found in the affection and good-will of his fellow-citizens; in obſerving the rapid progreſs of the fine arts, towards the promotion of which he had ſo amply contributed; in the ſociety and converſation of men of genius and learning; and in the inexhauſtible ſtores of knowledge with which he had enriched his own diſcriminating and comprehenſive mind.

As his natural diſpoſition, or the effects of his education, frequently led him to meditate with great ſerioufneſs on moral and religious ſubjects, ſo there were no perſons for whom he entertained a greater eſteem than thoſe who adorned their character as teachers of religion by a correſponding rectitude of life and propriety of manners. Amongſt theſe he particularly diſtinguiſhed Mariano da Genazano, an Auguſtin monk and ſuperior of his order, for whoſe uſe, and that of his aſſociates, he erected in the ſuburbs of Florence an extenſive building, which he endowed as a monaſtery, and to which he was himſelf accuſtomed occaſionally to retire, with a few ſelect friends, to enjoy the converſation

of

of this learned eccleſiaſtic. Politiano, in the preface to his *Miſcellanea*, inveighing againſt thoſe who affected to conſider the ſtudy of polite letters as inconſiſtent with the performance of ſacred functions, adduces Mariano as an illuſtrious inſtance of their union. "On this account," ſays he to Lorenzo, "I cannot ſufficiently admire your highly "eſteemed friend Mariano, whoſe proficiency in "theological ſtudies, and whoſe eloquence and "addreſs in his public diſcourſes, leave him with-"out a rival. The leſſons which he inculcates "derive additional authority from his acknowled-"ged diſintereſtedneſs, and from the ſeverity of his "private life; yet there is nothing moroſe in his "temper, nothing unpleaſingly auſtere; nor does "he think the charms of poetry, or the amuſe-"ments and purſuits of elegant literature, below "his attention." In one of his letters, the ſame author has left a very explicit account of the talents of Mariano, as a preacher (*a*). "I was lately "induced," ſays he, "to attend one of his lectures, "rather to ſay the truth through curioſity, than "with the hope of being entertained. His ap-"pearance however intereſted me in his favor. "His addreſs was ſtriking, and his eye marked "intelligence. My expectations were raiſed. He "began—I was attentive; a clear voice—ſelect ex-"preſſion—elevated ſentiment. He divides his "ſubject—I perceive his diſtinctions. Nothing per-"plexed; nothing inſipid; nothing languid. He "unfolds the web of his argument—I am enthralled.

(*a*) *Pol. Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 6.

" He refutes the ſophiſm—I am freed. He intro-
" duces a pertinent narrative—I am intereſted. He
" modulates his voice—I am charmed. He is
" jocular—I ſmile. He preſſes me with ſerious
" truths—I yield to their force. He addreſſes the
" paſſions—the tears glide down my cheeks. He
" raiſes his voice in anger—I tremble and wiſh
" myſelf away."

Of the particular ſubjects of diſcuſſion which engaged the attention of Lorenzo and his aſſociates in their interviews at the convent of San Gallo, Valori has left ſome account which he derived from the information of Mariano himſelf. The exiſtence and attributes of the Deity, the inſufficiency of temporal enjoyments to fill the mind, and the probability and moral neceſſity of a future ſtate, were to Lorenzo the favorite objects of his diſcourſe. His own opinion was pointedly expreſſed. " He is dead even to this life," ſaid Lorenzo, " who
" has no hopes of another (*a*)."

Although the citizens of Florence admired the talents, and reſpected the virtues of Mariano, their attention was much more forcibly excited by a preacher of a very different character, who poſſeſſed himſelf of their confidence, and entitled himſelf to their homage, by foretelling their deſtruction. This was the famous Girolamo Savonarola, who afterwards acted ſo conſpicuous a part in the popular commotions at Florence, and contributed ſo eſſentially to the accompliſhment of his own predictions. Savonarola was a native of Ferrara, but the reputation

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ. p.* 48.

which he had acquired as a preacher, induced Lorenzo de' Medici to invite him to Florence, where he took up his reſidence in the year 1488 (*a*), and was appointed prior of the monaſtery of S. Marco. By pretenſions to ſuperior ſanctity, and by a fervid and overpowering elocution, he ſoon acquired an aſtoniſhing aſcendency over the minds of the people; and in proportion as his popularity increaſed, his diſregard of his patron became more apparent, and was ſoon converted into the moſt vindictive animoſity. It had been the cuſtom of thoſe who had preceded Savonarola in this office, to pay particular reſpect to Lorenzo de' Medici, as the ſupporter of the inſtitution. Savonarola however not only rejected this ceremony, as founded in adulation, but as often as Lorenzo frequented the gardens of the monaſtery, retired from his preſence, pretending that his intercourſe was with God and not with man. At the ſame time, in his public diſcourſes, he omitted no opportunity of attacking the reputation and diminiſhing the credit of Lorenzo, by prognoſticating the ſpeedy termination of his authority, and his baniſhment from his native place. The divine word, from the lips of Savonarola, deſcended not amongſt his audience like the dews of heaven; it was the piercing hail, the deſtroying ſword, the

(*a*) In 1489, according to Tiraboſchi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* v. vi. *par.* 2. *p.* 377.; but Savonarola himſelf, in his *Trattato delle Rivelationi della reformatione della Chieſa, Ven.* 1536, (if indeed the work be his,) aſſigns an earlier period. In this work the fanatic aſſumes the credit of having foretold the death of Innocent VIII. of Lorenzo de' Medici, the irruption of the French into Italy, &c.

herald of deſtruction. The friends of Lorenzo frequently remonſtrated with him, on his ſuffering the monk to proceed to ſuch an extreme of arrogance; but Lorenzo had either more indulgence or more diſcretion than to adopt hoſtile meaſures againſt a man, who, though moroſe and inſolent, he probably conſidered as ſincere. On the contrary, he diſplayed his uſual prudence and moderation, by declaring that whilſt the preacher exerted himſelf to reform the citizens of Florence, he ſhould readily excuſe his incivility to himſelf. This extraordinary degree of lenity, if it had no influence on the mind of the fanatic, prevented in a great degree the ill effects of his harangues; and it was not till after the death of Lorenzo, that Savonarola excited thoſe diſturbances in Florence, which led to his own deſtruction, and terminated in the ruin of the republic.

Another eccleſiaſtic, whoſe worth and talents had conciliated the favor of Lorenzo, was Matteo Boſſo, ſuperior of the convent of regular canons at Fieſole. Not leſs converſant with the writings of the ancient philoſophers, than with the theological ſtudies of his own times, Boſſo was a profound ſcholar, a cloſe reaſoner, and a convincing orator; but to theſe he united much higher qualifications—a candid mind, an inflexible integrity, and an intereſting ſimplicity of life and manners. To his treatiſe *De veris animi gaudiis* is prefixed a recommendatory epiſtle from Politiano to Lorenzo de' Medici, highly favorable to the temper and character of the author (*a*). On the publication

(*a*) This treatiſe was firſt published in octavo, at Florence. by Ser Franciſco Bonacurſi. Anno Salutis MCCCCLXXXXI. Sexto Idus

of this piece, Boſſo tranſmitted a copy to Lorenzo, with a latin letter, preſerved in the *Recuperationes Feſulanæ*, another work of the ſame anthor, highly deſerving the attention of the ſcholar (*a*). In this letter Boſſo bears teſtimony to the virtues and to the piety of Lorenzo ; but whether this teſtimony ought to be received with greater confidence, becauſe Boſſo was the confeſſor of Lorenzo, the reader will decide for himſelf.

Of theſe his graver aſſociates, as well as of the companions of his lighter hours, Lorenzo was accuſtomed to ſtimulate the talents by every means in his power. His own intimate acquaintance with the tenets of the ancient philoſophers, and his acute and verſatile genius, enabled him to propoſe to their diſcuſſion, ſubjects of the moſt intereſting nature, and either to take a chief part in the converſation, or to avail himſelf of ſuch obſervations as it might occaſion. It appears alſo, that at ſome times he amuſed himſelf with offering to their conſideration ſuch topics as he well knew would elude

Februarii. From this edition I ſhall give the introductory letter of Politiano. *v. App. No.* LXVIII.

(*a*) This book is eſtimable not only for its contents, but as being one of the fineſt ſpecimens of typography of the fifteenth century. Inſtead of a title, we read, QUÆ HOC VOLUMINE HABENTUR VARIA DIVERSAQUE ET LONGA EX DISPERSIONE COLLECTA QUO BREVI SUB TITULO SUBJICIANTUR AC NOMINE RECUPERATIONES FESULANAS LECTOR AGNOSCITO. And at the cloſe, RECUPERATIONES FESULANAS *has elegantiſſimas, opus quidem aureum & penitus divinum quam caſtigatiſſime Impreſſit omni ſolertia* PLATO DE BENEDICTIS *Bononienſis in alma civitate Bononiæ. Anno Salutis* MCCCCLXXXXIII. *decimo tertio* KALENDAS AUGUSTAS. *Folio.* The letter from Boſſo to Lorenzo de' Medici is given in the Appendix, *No.* LXIX.

their reſearches, although they might exerciſe their powers; as men try their ſtrength by ſhooting arrows towards the ſky. Of this we have an inſtance in the ſonnet addreſſed by him to Salviati (*a*). "When the mind," ſays he, "eſcapes from the "ſtorms of life, to the calm haven of reflection, "doubts ariſe which require ſolution. If no one "can effectually exert himſelf to obtain eternal "happineſs, without the ſpecial favor of God. "and if that favor be only granted to thoſe who "are well diſpoſed towards its reception, I wiſh "to know whether the grace of God, or the good "diſpoſition, firſt commences?" The learned theologian to whom this captious queſtion was addreſſed, took it into his ſerious conſideration, and after dividing it into ſeven parts, attempted its ſolution in a Latin treatiſe of conſiderable extent, which is yet preſerved in the Laurentian Library (*b*).

Lorenzo was not however deſtined long to enjoy

(*a*) Lo ſpirito talora a ſe ridutto,
E dal mar tempeſtoſo e travagliato
Fuggito in porto tranquillo e pacato,
Penſando ha dubbio e vuolne trar coſtrutto,
S'egli è ver, che da Dio proceda tutto,
E ſenza lui nulla è, cioè il peccato;
Per ſua grazia ſe ci è conceſſo e dato
Seminar qui per corre eterno frutto;
Tal grazia in quel ſol fa operazione
Ch' a riceverla è volto e ben diſpoſto,
Dunque che coſa è quella ne diſpone?
Qual prima ſia, vorrei mi foſſe eſpoſto,
O tal grazia, o la buona inclinazione:
Riſpondi or tu al dubbio, ch' è propoſto.

(*b*) *Georgii Benigni Salviati, in Rhythmum acutiſſimum magni Laurentii Medicis Quaeſtiones ſeptem, &c.* PLUT. lxxxiii. *Cod.* 18.

that tranquillity which he had ſo aſſiduouſly labored to ſecure. His life had ſcarcely reached its meridian, when the proſpect was overhung with dark and lowering clouds. The death of his wife Clarice, which happened in the month of Auguſt 1488, was a ſevere ſhock to his domeſtic happineſs. He was then abſent from Florence, and did not arrive in time to ſee her before ſhe died, which it ſeems gave riſe to inſinuations that his conjugal affection was not very ardent (*a*); but the infirm ſtate of his own health at this time had rendered it neceſſary for him to viſit the warm baths, where he received an account of her death before he was apprized of the danger of her ſituation. From his youth he had been afflicted with a diſorder which occaſioned extreme pain in his ſtomach and limbs. This complaint was probably of a gouty tendency, but the then defective ſtate of medicine rendered it impoſſible for him to obtain any juſt information reſpecting it. The moſt eminent phyſicians in Italy were conſulted, and numerous remedies were preſcribed, without producing any beneficial effect (*b*). By frequenting the tepid baths

(*a*) Piero de Bibbiena, the ſecretary of Lorenzo, writes thus to the Florentine ambaſſador at Rome; *Prid. Kal. Sextil.* 1488: A hore 14 mori la Clarice. Se voi ſentiſte che Lorenzo foſſe biaſimato di coſtà per non eſſerſi trovato alla morte delle moglie, ſcuſatelo. Parve al Leoni neceſſario, che andaſſe a prender l'acque della Villa, e poi non ſi credeva che moriſſe sì preſto. *Fabr. v.* ii. *p.* 384.

(*b*) Some of theſe remedies are of a ſingular nature. Pietro Bono Avogradi, in a letter dated the eleventh of February 1488, adviſes Lorenzo, as a ſure method of preventing a return of the *dolore di zonture*, or arthritic pains, with which he was afflicted, to make uſe of a ſtone called an heliotrope, which being ſet in gold, and worn on

of Italy, he obtained a temporary alleviation of his ſufferings: but, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance he could procure, his complaints rather increaſed than diminiſhed, and for ſome time before his death, he had reconciled his mind to an event which he knew could not be far diſtant. When his ſon Giovanni took his departure for Rome, to appear in the character of cardinal, Lorenzo with great affection recommended him to the care of Filippo Valori and Andrea Cambino, who were appointed to accompany him on his journey; at the ſame time expreſſing his apprehenſions, which the event but too well juſtified, that he ſhould ſee them no more (*a*).

In the year 1488, Girolamo Riario, whoſe machinations had deprived Lorenzo of a brother, and had nearly involved Lorenzo himſelf in the ſame deſtruction, fell a victim to his accumulated crimes. By the aſſiſtance of Sixtus IV. he had poſſeſſed himſelf of a conſiderable territory in the vicinity of the papal ſtate, and particularly of the cities of Imola and Forli, at the latter of which he had fixed his reſidence, and ſupported the rank of an independent prince. In order to ſtrengthen his intereſt in Italy, he had connected himſelf with the powerful family of the Sforza, by a marriage with Caterina, ſiſter of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, whoſe un-

the finger ſo as to touch the ſkin, would produce the deſired effect. "This," ſays he, "is a certain preſervative againſt both gout and "rheumatiſm; I have tried it myſelf, and found that its properties "are divine and miraculous." With the ſame letter he tranſmits to Lorenzo his *prognoſtics* for the year 1488. *App. No.* LXX.

(*a*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 65.

happy fate has already been related (*a*). The general tenor of the life of Riario ſeems to have correſponded with the ſpecimen before exhibited. By a long courſe of oppreſſion he had drawn upon himſelf the hatred and reſentment of his ſubjects, whom he had reduced to the utmoſt extreme of indigence and diſtreſs. Stimulated by repeated acts of barbarity, three of them reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, and to truſt for their ſafety, after the perpetration of the deed, to the opinion and ſupport of their fellow-citizens. Although Riario was conſtantly attended by a band of ſoldiers, theſe men found means to enter his chamber in the palace at the hour when he had juſt concluded his ſupper. One of them having cut him acroſs the face with a ſabre, he took ſhelter under the table, whence he was dragged out by Lodovico Orſo, another of the conſpirators, who ſtabbed him through the body. Some of his attendants having by this time entered the room, Riario made an effort to eſcape at the door, but there received from the third conſpirator a mortal wound. It is highly probable that he was betrayed by the guard, for theſe three men were even permitted to ſtrip the dead body, and throw it through the window, when the populace immediately roſe and ſacked the palace. The inſurgents, having ſecured the widow and children of Riario, were only oppoſed by the troops in the fortreſs of the town, who refuſed to ſurrender it either to their entreaties or their threats. Being required, under pain of death, to exert her influence in obtaining

(*a*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 177.

for the populace poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, the princeſs requeſted that they would permit her to enter it; but no ſooner was ſhe ſecure within the walls than ſhe exhorted the ſoldiers to its defence, and raiſing the ſtandard of the duke of Milan, threatened the town with deſtruction. The inhabitants attempted to intimidate her by preparing to execute her children in her ſight, for which purpoſe they erected a ſcaffold before the walls of the fortreſs; but this unmanly proceeding, inſtead of awakening her affections, only excited her contempt, which ſhe is ſaid to have expreſſed in a very emphatic and extraordinary manner (*a*). By her courage the inhabitants were however reſiſted, until Giovanni Bentivoglio, with a body of two thouſand foot and eight hundred cavalry, from Bologna, gave her effectual aſſiſtance, and being joined by a ſtrong reinforcement from Milan, compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge as their ſovereign Ottavio Riario, the eldeſt ſon of Girolamo (*b*).

Lorenzo de' Medici has not eſcaped the imputation of having been privy to the aſſaſſination of his old and implacable adverſary; but neither the relations of contemporary hiſtorians, nor the general tenor of his life, afford a preſumption on which to ground ſuch an accuſation (*c*); although

(*a*) Riſpoſe loro quella forte femmina, che ſe aveſſero fatti perir que' figliuoli, reſtavano a lei le forme per farne degli altri; e vi ha che dice (queſta giunta forſe fu immaginata e non vera) aver' ella anche alzata la gonna per chiarirli, che dicea la verità.

Murat. Ann. vol. ix. *p.* 556.

(*b*) *Chronica Boſſiana. an.* 1488. *Ed.* 1492.

(*c*) " Indignum ſane facinus fuit, quod in Hieronymum Riarium " Comitem admiſſum eſt; cujus participem Laurentium fuiſſe *multi*

it is certain, that ſome years previous to this event, he had been in treaty with the pope to deprive Riario of his uſurpations, and to reſtore the territories occupied by him to the family of Ordolaffi, their former lords, which treaty was fruſtrated by the pope having inſiſted on annexing them to the ſtates of the church (*a*). The conſpirators however, ſoon after the death of Riario, apprized Lorenzo of the event, and requeſted his aſſiſtance; in conſequence of which he diſpatched one of his envoys to Forli, with a view of obtaining authentic in-

" *contendunt*, & ab eo ad ulciſcendas præteritorum temporum injurias " comparatum." *Fabr. in vitâ, vol.* i. *p.* 175. There is however great reaſon to ſuſpect that the modern biographer of Lorenzo has inadvertently given weight and credit to an accuſation, which, if eſtabliſhed, would degrade his character to that of a treacherous aſſaſſin. In vindication of him againſt this charge, I muſt therefore obſerve, that of the many accuſers to whom Fabroni adverts, I have not met with one of the early hiſtorians who has even glanced at Lorenzo as having been aſſociated with the conſpirators, or privy to the prepetration of the deed. Neither Machiavelli nor Ammirato, although they all relate the particulars of the tranſaction, have implicated in it the name of Lorenzo. Muratori, whoſe annals are compiled from contemporary and authentic documents, and who may therefore be conſidered as an original writer, is equally ſilent on this head. The ancient chronicle of Donato Boſſo, printed only four years after the event, gives a yet more particular account, but alludes not to any interpoſition on the part of Lorenzo; and even Raffaello Maffei, his acknowledged adverſary, though he adverts to the death of Riario, attributes it only to the interference of his own ſubjects. It is indeed a ſtrong indication of the dignity of the character of Lorenzo, that a charge ſo natural, and ſo conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the times, ſhould not have been alledged againſt him; and having been exculpated in the eyes of his contemporaries, it is ſurely not for poſterity to criminate him.

(*a*) *Fabron. Adnot. & Monum. v.* iii. *p.* 316.

formation as to the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and the views of the inſurgents (*a*), when finding that it was their intention to place themſelves under the dominion of the pope, he declined any interference on their behalf, but availed himſelf of the opportunity of their diſſenſions, to reſtore to the Florentines the fortreſs of Piancaldoli, which had been wreſted from them by Riario (*b*). That the aſſaſſins of Riario were ſuffered

(*a*) The letter from Lodovico and Cecco d' Orſi, two of the conſpirators, to Lorenzo de' Medici, written only a few days after the event, is inſerted in the Appendix, and indiſputably ſhows, that although they ſuppoſed Lorenzo would be gratified by the death of his adverſary, he had no previous knowledge of ſuch an attempt. To this I ſhall alſo ſubjoin the letter to Lorenzo from his envoy, which gives a minute account of the whole tranſaction, and by which it appears, that although the pope had incited the conſpirators to the enterpriſe, by expreſſing his abhorrence of the character of Riario, yet that no other perſon was privy to their purpoſe. *App. No.* LXXI.

(*b*) In the attack of this place, the Florentines loſt their eminent citizen, Cecca, the engineer, whoſe ſkill had facilitated the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe. In the *Exhortatio* of Philippus Reditus, addreſſed to Piero de' Medici, *in Magnanimi ſui parentis imitationem*, the MS. of which is preſerved in the Laurentian Library, this incident is particularly related; and as the paſſage has not hitherto been published, having been omitted, with many others, in the edition of Lami, *Delic. Erudit. vol.* xii. printed from a copy in the Riccardi Library, I ſhall here inſert it: "Piancaldolii arx ſtrenue noſtris re-
" cuperatur. Ad iv. vero Kalendas Maias, nuntiata nece Hieronymi
" Riarii, Imolæ Forliviique Tyranni, Piancaldolis oppidum noſtrum,
" olim ab eo per ſummum nefas nobis ereptum, admirabili quadam
" noſtrorum celeritate, tuo magnanimo Genitore procurante, ſtrenue
" recuperatur. In cujus arcis obſidione, Franciſcus, cognomine
" Ciccha, Fabrum magiſter, vir vel in expugnandis vel in defendendis
" urbibus tam noſtra, quam noſtrorum patrum memoria perilluſtris,
" ſagitta ictus capite, pro patria feliciter occubuit." The death of Cecca is related with ſome variation by Vaſſari, *Vita del Cecca.*

to escape with impunity, is perhaps the best justification of their conduct, as it affords a striking proof that he had deserved his fate.

Another event soon afterwards took place at Faenza, which occasioned great anxiety to Lorenzo, and called for the exertion of all his conciliatory powers. If the list of crimes and assassinations which we have before had occasion to notice, may be thought to have disgraced the age, that which we have now to relate exhibits an instance of female ferocity, which renewed in the fifteenth century the examples of Gothic barbarity (*a*). By the me-

" Costui, quando i Florentini avevano l' esercito intorno a' Piancaldoli, " con l' ingegno suo fece si, che i soldati vi entrarono dentro per via " di mine senza colpo di spada. Dopo seguitando più oltre il medesimo " esercito a certe altre castella, come volle la mala sorte, volendo " egli misurare alcune altezze in un luogo difficile, fu ucciso; per- " ciocchè, avendo messo il capo fuor del muro per mandar un filo " abasso, un prete, che era fra gli avversarii, i quali più temevano " l' ingegno del Cecca, che le forze di tutto il campo, scaricatogli " una balestra a panca, gli conficcò di sorte un verettone nella testa, " che il poverello di subito se ne morì."

(*a*) There is a striking coincidence between this event, and the narrative of Paulus Diaconus, upon which Giovanni Ruccellai has founded his tragedy of *Rosmunda*. Alboin, king of the Huns, having conquered and slain in battle Comundus, king of the Geppidi, compels his daughter *Rosmunda* to accept of him in marriage, with a view of uniting their dominions under his sole authority; but not satisfied with the accession of power, he gratifies a brutal spirit of revenge, by compelling her, at a public feast, to drink from the skull of her slaughtered father, which he had formed into a cup. This insult the princess avenges, by seducing to her purpose two of the king's intimate friends, who, in order to entitle themselves to her favor, assassinate him in the hour of intoxication. Ruccellai has however preserved his heroine from the crimes of prostitution and assassination, and has introduced a disinterested lover in the person of *Almachilde*,

diation of Lorenzo, who was equally the friend of the Manfredi and the Bentivoli, a marriage had taken place between Galeotto Manfredi, prince of Faenza, and Franceſca, daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio, which for ſome time ſeemed to be productive of that happineſs to the parties, and thoſe advantages to their reſpective families, which Lorenzo had in view. It was not long however before Franceſca diſcovered, or ſuſpected, that her huſband was engaged in an illicit amour, the information of which ſhe thought proper to communicate both to her father and to Lorenzo. Ever on the watch to obtain further proofs of his infidelity, ſhe found an opportunity of liſtening to a private interview between Galeotto, and ſome pretender to aſtrological knowledge, in whom it ſeems he was credulous enough to place his confidence. Inſtead, however, of gaining any intelligence as to the object of her curioſity, ſhe heard predictions and denunciations, which, as ſhe thought, affected the ſafety of her father, and being unable to conceal her indignation, ſhe broke in upon their deliberations, and reproached her huſband with his treachery. Irritated by the intruſion and the pertinacity of his wife, Galeotto retorted with great bitterneſs; but findiug himſelf unequal to a conteſt of this nature, he had recourſe to more violent methods, and by menaces and blows reduced her to obedience. Bentivoglio was no ſooner apprized of the ignomi-

who executes vengeance on the king from generous and patriotic motives. In juſtice to the author, it muſt alſo be obſerved, that the horrid incident upon which the tragedy is founded, is narrated only, and not repreſented before the audience.

nious treatment which his daughter had received, and of the circumſtances which had given riſe to it, than he reſolved to carry her off from her huſband by force. Taking with him a choſen body of ſoldiers, he approached Faenza by night, and ſeizing on Franceſca and her infant ſon, brought them in ſafety to Bologna. This ſtep he followed up, by preparing for an attack on the dominions of his ſon-in-law; but Galeotto having reſorted to Lorenzo for his mediation, a reconciliation took place, and Franceſca ſhortly afterwards returned to Faenza. Whether ſhe ſtill harboured in her boſom the lurking paſſions of jealouſy and revenge, or whether ſome freſh inſult on the part of her huſband had rouſed her fury, is not known; but ſhe formed and executed a deliberate plan for his aſſaſſination. To this end ſhe feigned herſelf ſick, and requeſted to ſee him in her chamber. Galeotto obeyed the ſummons, and on entering his wife's apartments, was inſtantly attacked by four hired aſſaſſins, three of whom ſhe had concealed under her bed. Though totally unarmed, he defended himſelf courageouſly; and as he had the advantages of great perſonal ſtrength and activity, would probably have effected his eſcape; but when Franceſca ſaw the conteſt doubtful, ſhe ſprung from the bed, and graſping a ſword, plunged it into his body, and accompliſhed his deſtruction with her own hand. Conſcious of her guilt, ſhe immediately took refuge with her children in the caſtle, until her father once more came to her relief. On his approach to Faenza, Bentivoglio was joined by the Milaneſe troops, who had been engaged in reinſtating the family of Riario at Forli. The citizens of

Faenza, conceiving that it was his intention to deprive them of Aſtorgio, the infant ſon of Galeotto, or rather perhaps under that pretext to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, refuſed to ſurrender to him his daughter and her family. He immediately attacked the place, which was not only ſucceſsfully defended by the citizens, but in an engagement which took place under the walls Borgomini, the commander of the Milaneſe troops, loſt his life, and Bentivoglio was made a priſoner. During this diſpute Lorenzo de' Medici had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the citizens, and had encouraged them with promiſes of ſupport, in caſe they ſhould find it neceſſary in preſerving their independence. The ſucceſs of their exertions, and the diſaſter of Bentivoglio, changed the object of his ſolicitude, and no ſooner did he receive intelligence of this event, than he diſpatched a meſſenger to Faenza, to interfere on the behalf of Bentivoglio, and if poſſible to obtain his releaſe. This was with ſome difficulty accompliſhed, and Bentivoglio immediately reſorted to Florence, to return his thanks to his benefactor. Some time afterwards Lorenzo, at the requeſt of Bentivoglio, ſolicited the liberation of his daughter, which was alſo complied with; and he was at length prevailed upon to intercede with the pope, to relieve her from the eccleſiaſtical cenſures which ſhe had incurred by her crime. The reaſon given by Bentivoglio to Lorenzo, for requeſting his aſſiſtance in this laſt reſpect, will perhaps be thought extraordinary—*He had an intention of providing her with another huſband!*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

PROGRESS of the arts — State of them in the middle ages — Revival in Italy — Guido da Sienna — Cimabue — Giotto — Character of his works — The Medici encourage the arts — Maſaccio — Paolo Uccello — Fra Filippo — Antonio Pollajuolo — Baldovinetti — Andrea da Caſtagna — Filippo Lippi — Luca Signorelli — Progreſs of Sculpture — Niccolo and Andrea Piſani — Ghiberti — Donatello — Imperfect ſtate of the arts — Cauſes of their improvement — Numerous works of Sculpture collected by the ancient Romans — Reſearches after the remains of antiquity — Petrarca — Lorenzo de' Medici brother of Coſmo — Niccolo Niccoli — Poggio Bracciolini — Collection of antiques formed by Coſmo — Aſſiduity of Lorenzo in augmenting it — Lorenzo eſtabliſhes a ſchool for the ſtudy of the antique — Michelagnolo Buonarroti — Reſides with Lorenzo — Forms an intimacy with Politiano — Advantages over his predeceſſors — His ſculptures — Rapid improvement of taſte — Raffaelle d' Urbino — Michelagnolo unjuſtly cenſured — Other artiſts favored by Lorenzo — Gian-Franceſco Ruſtici — Franceſco Granacci — Andrea Contucci — Lorenzo encourages the ſtudy of Architecture — Giuliano da San Gallo — Attempts to renew the practice of Moſaic — Invention of engraving on copper — Revival of engraving on gems and ſtones.

THOSE periods of time which have been moſt favorable to the progreſs of letters and ſcience, have generally been diſtinguiſhed by an equal proficiency

in the arts. The productions of Roman ſculpture, in its beſt ages, bear nearly the ſame proportion to thoſe of the Greeks, as the imitative labors of the Roman authors bear to the original works of their great prototypes. During the long ages of ignorance that ſucceeded the fall of the Weſtern empire, letters and the fine arts underwent an equal degradation; and it would be as difficult to point out a literary work of thoſe times which is entitled to approbation, as it would be to produce a ſtatue or a picture. When theſe ſtudies began to revive, a Guido da Sienna, a Cimabue, rivalled a Guittone d' Arezzo, or a Piero delle Vigne. The crude buds that had eſcaped the ſeverity of ſo long a winter ſoon began to ſwell, and Giotto, Buffalmacco, and Gaddi were the contemporaries of Dante, of Boccaccio, and of Petrarca (*a*).

It is not however to be preſumed, that, even in the darkeſt intervals of the middle ages, theſe arts were entirely extinguiſhed. Some traces of them are found in the rudeſt ſtate of ſociety; and the efforts of the Europeans, the South Americans, and the Chineſe, without rivalſhip and without participation, are nearly on an equality with each other. Among the manuſcripts of the Laurentian Library are preſerved ſome ſpecimens of miniature paint-

(*a*) Videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nulla prorſus arte politas; ſcripta illius ætatis rudia ſunt, inepta, incompta: poſt Petrcham emerſerunt litteræ; poſt Joctum ſurrexere pictorum manus; utraque ad ſummam jam videmus artem perveniſſe. *Æn. Silvii* (*Pii* ii.) *Epiſt.* 119. *ap. Baldinuc. Notiz. Dec.* 1. Such was the opinion of this pontiff, who had great learning and ſome taſte. He was only miſtaken in ſuppoſing that he had ſeen the perfection of the art.

ings which are unqueſtionably to be referred to the tenth century, but they bear deciſive evidence of the barbariſm of the times; and although they certainly aim at pictureſque repreſentation, yet they may with juſtice be conſidered rather as perverſe diſtortions of nature, than as the commencement of an elegant art (*a*).

Antecedent, however, to Cimabue, to whom Vaſari attributes the honor of having been the reſtorer of painting, Guido da Sienna had demonſtrated to his countrymen the poſſibility of improvement. His picture of the virgin, which yet remains tolerably entire in the church of S. Domenico, in his native place, and which bears the date of 1221, is preſumed, with reaſon, to be the earlieſt work now extant of any Italian painter (*b*). The Florentine made a bolder effort, and attracted more general admiration. Every new Production of his pencil was regarded as a prodigy, and riches and honors were liberally beſtowed on the fortunate artiſt. His picture of the Madonna, after having

(*a*) Theſe pieces have lately been engraved and published in the *Etruria Pittrice*, a work which appears periodically at Florence, and contains ſpecimens of the manner of the Tuſcan artiſts from the earlieſt times, executed ſo as to give ſome idea of the original pictures. To this work, which would have been much more valuable if greater attention had been paid to the engravings, I ſhall, in ſketching the progreſs of the art, have frequent occaſion to refer.

(*b*) Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice*, *No.* iii. Under this picture is inſcribed, in Gothic characters, the following verſe:

" Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amenis
" Quem Chriſtus lenis nullis velit agere penis
A. D. MCCXXI."

excited the wonder of a Monarch, and given the name of *Borgo Allegro* to that diſtrict of the city whither his countrymen reſorted to gratify themſelves with a ſight of it, was removed to its deſtined ſituation in the church of *S. Maria Novella*, to the ſound of muſic, in a ſolemn proceſſion of the citizens (*a*). The modern artiſt who obſerves this picture may find it difficult to account for ſuch a degree of enthuſiaſm (*b*); but excellence is merely relative, and it is a ſufficient cauſe of approbation, if the merit of the performance exceed the ſtandard of the age. Thoſe productions which, compared with the works of a Raffaello, or a Titian, may be of little eſteem, when conſidered with reference to the times that gave them birth, may juſtly be entitled to no ſmall ſhare of applauſe.

The glory of Cimabue was obſcured by that of his diſciple Giotto (c), who from figuring the ſheep which it was his buſineſs to tend, became the beſt painter that Italy had produced (*d*). It affords no

(*a*) *Vaſari, vita di Cimabue.*

(*b*) Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice, No.* viii. The virgin is ſeated with the infant on her knee, in a rich chair, which is ſupported by ſix angels, repreſented as adults, though leſs than the child. The head of the virgin is ſomewhat inclined, the countenance melancholy, not without ſome pretenſions to grace; the reſt of the picture is in the true ſtyle of Gothic formality.

(*c*) Credette Cimabue nella pintura,
Tener lo campo; ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Si che la fama di colui oſcura.

Dante, Purg. Cant. xi.

(*d*) *Manni*, in his *Illuſtr. del Boccaccio, p.* 414. deduces the name of Giotto from Angiolotto, but M. Tenhove with more probability derives it from Ambrogio. *Ambrogio, Ambrogiotto, Giotto;* " Quel

inadequate proof of his high reputation, when we find him indulging his humor in an imitation of the celebrated artiſt of Cos, and ſending to the pope, who had deſired to ſee one of his drawings, a circle, ſtruck with ſuch freedom, as to ſhow the hand of a maſter, yet with ſuch truth, as to have given riſe to a proverb (*a*). Inferior artiſts hazard not ſuch freedoms with the great. Giotto ſeems however to have delighted in the eccentricities of the art. One of his firſt eſſays when he began to ſtudy under Cimabue was to paint a fly on the noſe of one of his maſter's portraits, which the deluded artiſt attempted to bruſh off with his hand (*b*); a tale that may rank with the horſe of Apelles, the curtain of Parrhaſius, or the grapes of Zeuxis. Boccaccio has introduced this celebrated painter with great approbation in one of his novels (*c*); a ſtranger," ſays this lively author, " aperçoit d'abord ſous les bizarres " déguiſemens de *Biſta, Betto, Bambo, Bindo, Bacci, Tani, Cece, " Giomo, Nigi, Meo, Nanni, Vanni, Mazo, Lippo, Lippozzo, " Pipo. Guccio, Mico, Caca, Toto, &c.* les noms de batême les plus " vulgaires & les plus communs? Les autres Italiens ſe ſont toujours " moqués de cet uſage Florentin, qui en effet n'eſt pas moins riſible " que ſi M. Hume, dans ſa belle hiſtoire d'Angleterre, nous entretenait " de *Billy le conquérant*, de *Tom Becket*, de *Jackey le grand-terrien*, " appellé *Sans-Terre*, des grands Rois *Ned.* I. & III. *du nom*, de " la bigotte *Reine Molly*, de la grand *Reine Beſs*, & de ſon cher " amant *Bobby Devereux*, envoyé par elle au ſupplice," &c.

Mém. Gén. &c. liv. i. *p.* 37.

(*a*) Divolgataſi poi queſta coſa, ne nacque il proverbio, che ancora è in uſo dirſi agli uomini di groſſa paſta: *Tu ſei più tondo che l'O di Giotto. Vaſar. vita di Giotto.*

(*b*) *Vaſari vita di Giotto.*

(*c*) Giotto ebbe un ingegno di tanta eccellenza, che niuna coſa da la natura, madre di tutte le coſe, ed operatrice, col continuo girar de'

gular converſation is ſaid to have occurred between him and Dante (*a*); and Petrarca held his works in ſuch high eſteem, that one of his pictures is the ſubject of a legacy to a particular friend in his will (*b*). Upwards of a century after his death, Lorenzo de' Medici, well aware that the moſt efficacious method of exciting the talents of the living is to confer due honor on departed merit, raiſed a buſt to his memory in the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, the inſcription for which was furniſhed by Politiano (*c*).

cieli, che egli con lo ſtile, e con la penna, e col pennello non dipigneſſe, sì ſimile a quella, che non ſimile, anzi più toſto deſſa pareſſe.

Decam. Gior. vi. *Nov.* 5.

(*a*) Benvenuto da Imola, one of the commentators of Dante, relates, that whilſt Giotto reſided at Padua, Dante paid him a viſit, and was received by him with great attention. Obſerving however that the children of Giotto bore a great reſemblance to their father, whoſe features and appearance were not very prepoſſeſſing, he inquired how it came to paſs that his pictures and his children were ſo very unlike to each other, the former being ſo beautiful, the latter ſo coarſe. *Quia pingo de die, ſed fingo de nocte*, ſaid the painter.

Manni, Illuſt. del Bocc. p. 417.

(*b*) Tranſeo ad diſpoſitionem aliarum rerum; predicto igitur domino meo Paduano, quia & ipſe per Dei gratiam non eget, & ego nihil aliud habeo dignum ſe, mitto Tabulam meam ſive hiſtoriam Beatæ virginis Mariæ, operis Jocti pictoris egregii, quæ mihi ab amico meo Michele Vannis de Florentia miſſa eſt, in cujus pulchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magiſtri autem artis ſtupent.

Vaſari, vita di Giotto.

(*c*) Ille ego ſum per quem Pictura extincta revixit,
Cui quam recta manus tam fuit & facilis,
Naturæ deerat noſtræ quod defuit arti;
Plus licuit nulli pingere nec melius.

The merits of Giotto and his ſchool are appreciated with great judgment by Vaſari, who attributes to him and his predeceſſor Cimabue the credit of having baniſhed the inſipid and ſpiritleſs manner introduced by the Greek artiſts, and given riſe to a new and more natural ſtyle of compoſition. This the hiſtorian denominates the *maniera di Giotto* (*a*). " Inſtead of the harſh outline, circumſcribing the " whole figure, the glaring eyes, the pointed feet " and hands, and all the defects ariſing from a total

Miraris turrim egregiam ſacro ære ſonantem?
Ilæc quoque de modulo crevit ad aſtra meo.
Denique ſum JOTTUS, quid opus fuit illa referre?
Hoc nomen longi carminis inſtar erit.

(*a*) *Proemio di Giorgio Vaſari* to the ſecond part of his work, written, like all his other prefaces, with great judgment, candor, and hiſtorical knowledge of his art. *Tractant fabrilia fabri*—The early painters are fortunate in poſſeſſing an hiſtorian, who without envy, ſpleen, or arrogance, and with as little prejudice or partiality as the imperfection of human nature will allow, has diſtributed to each of his characters, his due portion of applauſe. If he has on any occaſion ſhown too apparent a bias in favor of an individual, it leans towards Michelagnolo Buonarroti, in whoſe friendship he gloried, and whoſe works he diligently ſtudied; but an exceſs of admiration for this great man will ſcarcely be imputed to him as a fault. As a painter and an architect, Vaſari holds a reſpectable rank. In the former department, his productions are extremely numerous. One of his principal labors is his hiſtorical ſuite of pictures of the Medici family, with their portraits, painted for the great duke Coſmo I. in the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, of which Vaſari himſelf has given a particular account, published by Filippo Giunti, in 1588, and entitled *Ragionamenti del Sig. Cav. Giorgio Vaſari ſopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze*, &c. Reprinted in Arezzo, 1762. In this ſeries of pictures are repreſented the principal incidents in the life of Lorenzo. This work has been engraved, but not in ſuch a manner as to do juſtice to the painter.

" want of ſhadow, the figures of Giotto exhibit a " better attitude, the heads have an air of life and " freedom, the drapery is more natural, and there " are even ſome attempts at fore-ſhortening the " limbs." " Beſides theſe improvements," continues this author, " Giotto was the firſt who repre- " ſented in his pictures, the effect of the paſſions " on the human countenance. That he did not " proceed further muſt be attributed to the difficul- " ties which attend the progreſs of the art, and to " the want of better examples. In many of the " eſſential requiſites of his profeſſion, he was indeed " equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, by ſome of his con- " temporaries. The coloring of Gaddi had more " force and harmony, and the attitudes of his figures " more vivacity. Simone da Sienna is to be preferred " to him in the compoſition of his ſubjects, and " other painters excelled him in other branches of " the art; but Giotto had laid the ſolid foundation " of their improvements. It is true, all that was " effected by theſe maſters may be conſidered only " as the firſt rude ſketch of a ſculptor towards com- " pleting an elegant ſtatue, and if no further pro- " greſs had been made, there would not, upon the " whole, have been much to commend; but who- " ever conſiders the difficulties under which their " works were executed, the ignorance of the times, " the rarity of good models, and the impoſſibility " of obtaining inſtruction, will eſteem them not only " as commendable, but wonderful productions, " and will perceive with pleaſure theſe firſt ſparks " of improvement which afterwards fanned into " ſo bright a flame."

The patronage of the family of the Medici is almoſt contemporary with the commencement of the art. Giovanni de' Medici, the father of Coſmo, had employed his fellow-citizen, Lorenzo de' Bicci, to ornament with portraits a chamber in one of his houſes in Florence, which afterwards became the reſidence of Lorenzo, the brother of Coſmo (*a*). The liberality of Coſmo led the way to further improvement. Under Maſaccio, the ſtudy of nature and actual obſervation were ſubſtituted to cold and ſervile imitation. By this maſter, his competitors, and his ſcholars, every component branch of the art was carried to ſome degree of perfection. Paolo Uccello was the firſt who boldly ſurmounted the difficulty which Giotto, though ſenſible of its importance, had ineffectually attempted to overcome, and gave that ideal depth to his labors, which is the eſſence of picturesque repreſentation (*b*). This he accompliſhed by his ſuperior knowledge of perſpective, which he ſtudied in conjunction with the celebrated Giannozzo Manetti, and in the attainment of which the painter and the ſcholar were mutually ſerviceable to each other (*c*). The rules which he thence acquired he applied to practice, not only in

(*a*) *Vaſar. vita di Lor. de' Bicci.*

(*b*) È da oſſervare che non ſi trova prima di lui neſſuno ſcorto di figure, perciò a ragione può dirſi aver queſto valent' uomo fatto un gran progreſſo nell arte. *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xiv.

(*c*) E fu il primo che poneſſe ſtudio grande nella proſpettiva, introducendo il modo di mettere le figure ſu' piani, dove eſſe poſar devono, diminuendole a proporzione; il che, da maeſtri avanti a lui, ſi faceva a caſo, e ſenz' alcuna conſiderazione.

Baldinuc. Dec. ii. del. par. i. *ſec.* iv.

the back-grounds of his pictures, but in his repreſentation of the human figure, of which he expreſſed the *Scorci*, or fore-ſhortenings, with accuracy and effect (*a*). The merit of having been the firſt to apply mathematical rules to the improvement of works of art, and the proficiency which he made in ſo neceſſary and ſo laborious a ſtudy, if it had not obtained from Vaſari a greater ſhare of praiſe, ought at leaſt to have ſecured the artiſt from that ridicule with which he ſeems inclined to treat him (*b*). The elder Filippo Lippi gave to his figures a boldneſs and grandeur before unknown. He attended alſo to the effect of his back-grounds, which were however in general too minutely finiſhed. About two years after his death, which happened in the year 1469, Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then abſent from Florence on a journey, to congratulate Sixtus IV. on his acceſſion to the pontificate, took the opportunity of paſſing through Spoletto, where he requeſted permiſſion from the magiſtrates to remove the aſhes of the artiſt to the church of *S. Maria del Fiore* at Florence. The community of that place were however unwilling to relinquiſh ſo honorable a depoſit; and Lorenzo was therefore content to

(*a*) In his picture of the inebriety of Noah, in the church of S. Maria Novella, is a figure of the patriarch ſtretched on the ground, with his feet towards the front of the picture; yet, even in this difficult attitude, the painter has ſucceeded in giving an explicit idea of his ſubject. *Etrur. Pittr. No.* xiv.

(*b*) La moglie ſoleva dire che tutta la notte Paolo ſtava nello ſcrittoio, per trovar i termini della proſpettiva, e che quando ella lo chiamava a dormire, egli le diceva, *O che dolce coſa è queſta proſpettiva!* *Vaſar Vita di Paolo.*

teſtify his reſpect for the memory of the painter, by engaging his ſon, the younger Filippo, to erect in the church of Spoletto a monument of marble, the inſcription upon which, written by Politiano, has led his hiſtorian Menckenius into a miſtake almoſt too apparent to admit of an excuſe (*a*).

In the anatomy of the human figure, which now began to engage the more minute attention of the painter, Antonio Pollajuolo took the lead of all his competitors. By accurate obſervation, as well on the dead as on the living, he acquired a competent knowledge of the form and action of the muſcles (*a*), which he exemplified in a ſtriking manner in his picture of Hercules and Antæus,

(*a*) *In Philippum Fratrem Pictorem.*

Conditus hic ego ſum picturæ fama PHILIPPUS;
Nulli ignota meæ eſt gratia mira manus.
Artifices potui digitis animare colores,
Speraſaque animos fallere voce diu.
Ipſa meis ſtupuit natura expreſſa figuris,
Meque ſuis faſſa eſt artibus eſſe parem.
Marmoreo tumulo MEDICES LAURENTIUS hic me
Condidit: ante humili pulvere tectus eram.

From the appellation of *Frater*, given to Lippi by Politiano, Menckenius conjectures, that he was his brother. "Is enim quis ſit, "cujus hic frater dicitur Philippus, ſi Politianus non eſt, hariolari non poſſum." *Menck. in vitâ Pol. p.* 31. Filippo had entered into holy orders, whence he was called *Fra Filippo;* a circumſtance which Menckenius might eaſily have diſcovered, though he profeſſes not to have been able to obtain any information reſpecting it. "Nihil enim "eâ de re ſcripſerunt alii, etſi non deſint, qui maxime excelluiſſe hunc "*Philippum* nobiliſſimâ pingendi arte ſuo confirment teſtimonio." *Ibid. p.* 637.

(*b*) Egli s'int ſe di g'i ignudi più modernamente, che fatto non avevano gli altri maeſtri innanzi a lui; e ſcorticò molti uomini, per vedere

painted for Lorenzo de' Medici, in which he is ſaid not only to have expreſſed the ſtrength of the conqueror, but the languor and inanimation of the conquered (*a*); but his moſt celebrated work is the death of S. Sebaſtian, yet preſerved in the chapel of the Pucci family at Florence, and of which Vaſari has given a particular account (*b*). In this picture, the figure of the dying ſaint was painted from nature after Gino Capponi. In the figures of the two aſſaſſins, who are bending their croſs-bows, he has ſhown great knowledge of muſcular action. Baldovinetti excelled in portraits, which he frequently introduced in his hiſtorical ſubjects. In a picture of the queen of Sheba on a viſit to Solomon, he painted the likeneſs of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of the celebrated mechanic, Lorenzo da Volpaia (*c*); and in another picture, intended as its companion, thoſe of Giuliano de' Medici, Luca Pitti, and other Florentine citizens. The reſemblance of Lorenzo

la notomia lor ſotto; e fu primo a moſtrare il modo di cercare i muſcoli, che aveſſero forma, ed ordine nelle figure.

Vaſari vita di Pollajuolo.

(*a*) *Vaſari, ut ſupra.*

(*b*) *Vaſari, ut ſupra.* This picture is engraved and published in the *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xxiv.

(*c*) Ritraſſe coſtui aſſai di naturale, e dove nella detta cappella fece la ſtoria della Reina Saba, che va a udire la ſapienza di Salomone, ritraſſe il magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici, che fu padre di papa Leone decimo, Lorenzo dalla Volpaja eccellentiſſimo maeſtro d'oriuoli, ed ottimo aſtrologo, il quale fu quello, che fece per il detto Lor. de' Medici il belliſſimo oriuolo che ha oggi il Sig. Duca Coſimo in Palazzo; nel quale oriuolo tutte le ruote de' pianeti camminano di continuo; il che è coſa rara, e la prima che fuſſe mai fatta di queſta maniera.

Vaſar. vita di Baldov. v. ante, p. 115.

was alſo introduced by Domenico Ghirlandajo, in a picture of S. Franceſco taking the habit, painted by him in the chapel of the Trinity at Florence. Until this time the pictures of the Tuſcan artiſts had been executed in diſtemper, or with colors rendered coheſive by glutinous ſubſtances. The practice of painting in oil, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the duration of a picture, was now firſt introduced amongſt his countrymen by Andrea da Caſtagna (*a*). The younger Filippo Lippi attempted, and not without effect, to give a greater ſhare of energy and animation to his productions. His attitudes are frequently bold and diverſified; and his figures have expreſſion, vivacity, and motion (*b*). It is deſerving

(*a*) Era nel ſuo tempo in Firenze un tal Domenico da Venezia, pittore di buon nome, col quale egli (Andrea) aveva ſtrettamente legata grande amicizia, affine di cavargli dalla mano la maeſtria di colorire a olio, che allora in Toſcana non era da alcun altro praticata, nè meno ſaputa, fuori che da Domenico, come gli riuſcì da fare. *Baldin. Dec.* iii. *ſec.* v. The invention of painting in oil, though introduced ſo late into Italy, is probably more ancient than has generally been ſuppoſed. It is commonly attributed to the Flemiſh artiſts, Hubert and John Van Eyck, who flouriſhed about the year 1400; but profeſſor Leſſing, in a ſmall treatiſe "*ſur l'ancienneté de la peinture à l'huile*," printed at Brunſwick in 1774, has endeavoured to ſhow that this art is of much greater antiquity. His ſuggeſtions have ſince been confirmed by the reſearches of M. de Mechel of Baſle, who, in arranging the immenſe collection of pictures of the imperial gallery of Vienna, has diſcovered ſeveral pieces painted in oil, as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Of theſe the earlieſt is a picture by Thomas de Mutina, a Bohemian gentleman; the others are by Theodoric, of Prague, and Nic. Wurmſer, of Straſbourg; both artiſts at the court of the emperor Charles IV.

v. Mechel, Catal. des Tabl. de Vienne, &c. in pref.

(*b*) His celebrated picture of S. Filippo and the ſerpent, painted

of remark, that he prepared the way to the ſtudy of the antique, by introducing into his pictures, the vaſes, utenſils, arms, and dreſſes of the ancients (*a*). But of all the maſters of this period, perhaps Luca Signorelli united the moſt important excellencies; his compoſition was good; in drawing the naked figure he particularly excelled (*b*); in his picture of the inſtitution of the euchariſt, yet exiſting in the choir of the cathedral at Cortona (*c*), the figure of Chriſt might be miſtaken for the production of one of the Caracci. In the variety and expreſſion of countenance, in the diſpoſition of the drapery, even in the juſt diſtribution of light, this picture has great merit; and if ſome remnants of the manner of the times prevent us from giving it unlimited approba-

in the chapel of the Strozzi at Florence, and engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xxvii. is a ſufficient proof of the truth of this remark. Filippo Lippi was the ſon of the former painter of the ſame name, uſually called Fra Filippo. Lorenzo employed him to ornament his palace at Poggio Cajano, where he painted a ſacrifice in Freſco, but the work was left unfiniſhed.

(*a*) Non lavorò mai opera alcuna, nelle quale delle coſe antiche di Roma con gran ſtudio non ſi ſerviſſe, in vaſi, calzari, trofei, bandiere, cimieri, ornamenti di tempi, abbigliamenti di portature da capo, ſtrane fogge da doſſo, armature, ſcimitarre, ſpade, toghe, manti, ed altre coſe diverſe e belle, che grandiſſimo e ſempiterno obbligo ſe gli debbe.

Vaſar. vita di Filip.

(*b*) Col fondamento del diſegno, e degli ignudi particolarmente, e con la grazia della invenzione, e diſpoſizione delle hiſtorie, aperſe alla maggior parte degli artefici la via alla ultima perfezzione dell' arte, alla quale poi poterono dar cima quelli che ſeguirono. *Veſar. vita di Luca Signorelli.* It muſt however be obſerved, that Luca lived till 1521, before which time an important reformation had taken place in the arts.

(*c*) Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice, No.* xxvii.

tion, it may certainly be conſidered as the harbinger of a better taſte.

The art of ſculpture, dependent on the ſame principles, and ſuſceptible of improvement from the ſame cauſes as that of painting, made a proportionable progreſs. The inventive genius of the Italian artiſts had very early applied it to almoſt every variety of material; and figures in wood, in clay, in metals, and in marble, were faſhioned by Giovanni and Niccolo Piſano, by Agoſtino and Agnolo Saneſe, which, though rude and incorrect, excited the admiration of the times in which they were produced. Their ſucceſſor Andrea Piſano, the contemporary of Giotto, ſupported the credit of the art, which was then endangered by the ſudden progreſs of its powerful rival; and in the early part of the fifteenth century the talents of Ghiberti and Donatello carried it to a degree of eminence which challenged the utmoſt exertions, and perhaps even excited the jealouſy, of the firſt painters of the age. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that the advantages which ſculpture poſſeſſes are neither few nor unimportant. The ſevere and ſimple mode of its execution, the veracity of which it is ſuſceptible, and the durability of its productions, place it in a favorable point of view, when oppoſed to an art whoſe ſucceſs is founded on illuſion, which not only admits, but courts meretricious ornament, and whoſe monuments are fugitive and periſhable (*a*).

(*a*) I am aware that much is to be ſaid on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, but I mean not to diſcuſs a ſubject upon which almoſt every writer on the hiſtory of the arts has either directly or incidentally exer-

Theſe arts, ſo diſtinct in their operations, approach each other in works in *rilievo*, which unite the ſubſtantial form that characterizes ſculpture, with the ideal depth of picturesque compoſition. In this province Donatello particularly excelled; and in Coſmo de' Medici he found a patron who had judgment to perceive, and liberality to reward his merits. But the genius of Donatello was not confined to one department. His group of Judith and Holofernes, executed in bronze for the community of Florence, his ſtatue of S. George, his Annunciation, and his Zuccone, in one of the niches of the Campanile at Florence, all of which yet remain, have met with the uniform approbation of ſucceeding times, and are perhaps as perfect as the narrow principles upon which the art was then conducted would allow.

Notwithſtanding the exertions of theſe maſters, which were regarded with aſtoniſhment by their contemporaries, and are yet entitled to attention and reſpect, it does not appear that they had raiſed their views to the true end of the profeſſion (*a*). Their characters rarely excelled the daily

ciſed his ingenuity. Among others, I may refer the reader to the *Proemi* of Vaſari, the *Lezzione* of Benedetto Varchi, *della maggioranza dell' arti*, the works of Baldinucci, Richardſon, and Mengs, and to the poſthumous works of Dr. Adam Smith, lately published, in which the reader will find many acute obſervations on this ſubject.

(*a*) È neceſſario il confeſſare, che non poteva la pittura, benchè fatta viva dalle mani di que' maeſtri, far gran pompa di ſe ſteſſa, perchè molto le mancava di diſegno, di morbidezza, di colorito, di ſcorti, di movenze, di attitudini, di rilievo, e di altre finezze e vivacità, onde ella poteſſe in tutto e per tutto aſſomigliarſi al vero. *Baldin. Dec.* iii. *ſec.* v.

prototypes

prototypes of common life; and their forms, although at times ſufficiently accurate, were moſtly vulgar and heavy. In the pictures which remain of this period, the limbs are not marked with that preciſion which characterizes a well-informed artiſt. The hands and feet, in particular, appear ſoft, enervated, and delicate, without diſtinction of ſex or character. Many practices yet remained that evince the imperfect ſtate of the art. Ghirlandajo and Baldovinetti continued to introduce the portraits of their employers in hiſtoric compoſition, forgetful of that *ſimplex duntaxat & unum* with which a juſt taſte can never diſpenſe. Coſimo Roſelli, a painter of no inconſiderable reputation, attempted by the aſſiſtance of gold and ultramarine, to give a factitious ſplendor to his performances. To every thing great and elevated, the art was yet a ſtranger; even the celebrated picture of Pollajuolo exhibits only a group of half naked and vulgar wretches, diſcharging their arrows at a miſerable fellow-creature, who by changing places with one of his murderers, might with equal propriety become a murderer himſelf (*a*). Nor was it till the time of

(*a*) Objects of horror and diſguſt, the cold detail of deliberate barbarity, can never be proper ſubjects of art, becauſe they exclude the efforts of genius. Even the powers of Shakſpeare are annihilated in the butcheries of Titus Andronicus. Yet the reputation of ſome of the moſt celebrated Italian painters has been principally founded on this kind of repreſentation. " Ici," ſays M. Tenhove, " c'eſt S. " Etienne qu'on lapide, & dont je crains que la cervelle ne rejailliſſe " ſur moi; plus loin c'eſt S. Barthélémi tout ſanglant, tout écorché; " je compte ſes muſcles & ſes nerfs. Vingt flèches ont criblé Sebaſtien. " L'horrible tête du Baptiſte eſt dans ce plat. Le gril de S. Laurent

Michelagnolo that painting and ſculpture roſe to their true object, and inſtead of exciting the wonder, began to rouſe the paſſions and intereſt the feelings of mankind.

By what fortunate concurrence of circumſtances the exquiſite taſte evinced by the ancients in works of art was revived in modern times, deſerves inquiry. It has generally been ſuppoſed that theſe arts, having left in Greece ſome traces of their former ſplendor, were tranſplanted into Italy by Greek artiſts, who, either led by hopes of emolument, or impelled by the diſaſtrous ſtate of their own country, fought, among the ruins of the weſtern empire, a ſhelter from the impending deſtruction of the eaſt. Of the labors of theſe maſters, ſpecimens indeed remain in different parts of Italy; but, in point of merit, they exceed not thoſe of the native Italians, and ſome of them even bear the marks of deeper barbariſm (*a*). In fact, theſe arts were equally debaſed in Greece and in Italy, and it was not

" fert de pendant a la chaudière de S. Jean — Je recule d'horreur." *Mém. Gén. lib.* x. May it not well be doubted, whether ſpectacles of this kind, ſo frequent in places devoted to religious purpoſes, may not have had a tendency rather to keep alive a ſpirit of ferocity and reſentement, than to inculcate thoſe mild and benevolent principles in which the eſſence of religion conſiſts?

(*a*) Veniſe, & quelques villes de la Romagne, ou de l'ancien Exarchat de Ravenne, montrent encore des traces de ces barbouillages Grecs. Le caractère d'un aſſez profonde barbarie s'y fait ſentir. La peinture qui repreſente les obſéques de St. Ephraim, qu'on voit dans le *Muſeo Sacro*, partie de la Bibliothéque du Vatican, paſſe pour le triſte chef d'œuvre de ces fils bâtards de Zeuxis.

Tenh. Mém. Gén. lib. vii.

therefore by an intercourſe of this nature that they were likely to receive improvement. Happily, however, the ſame favorable circumſtances which contributed to the revival of letters took place alſo with reſpect to the arts; and if the writings of the ancient authors excited the admiration and called forth the exertions of the ſcholar, the remains of ancient ſkill in marble, gems, and other durable materials, at length caught the attention of the artiſt, and were converted from objects of wonder, into models of imitation. To facilitate the progreſs of theſe ſtudies, other fortunate circumſtances concurred. The freedom of the Italian governments, and particularly that of Florence, gave to the human faculties their full energies (*a*). The labors of the painter were early aſſociated with the myſteries of the prevailing religion, whilſt the wealth and oſtentation of individuals and of ſtates held out rewards, ſufficient to excite the endeavours even of the phlegmatic and the indolent.

From the time of the conſul Mummius, who, whilſt he plundered the city of Corinth of its beautiful productions of art, regarded them rather as houſehold furniture, than as pieces of exquiſite ſkill (*b*), the avidity of the Romans for the works

(*a*) L'uomo libero, con volontà, fa tutto quel che può, più, o meno, ſecondo la ſua capacità; ma lo ſchiavo fa al più quello, che gli ſi comanda, e guaſta la ſua propria volontà, colla violenza, che gli ſi fa, per ubbidire. L'abito di farlo opprime finalmente la ſua capacità, e la ſua razza peggiora, fino, a non più deſiderare quello, che diſpera ottenere. *Opere di Mengs. v.* i. *p.* 228.

(*b*) Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum

of the Greciam artiſts had been progreſſively increaſing, till at length they became the firſt objects of proconſular rapacity, and the higheſt gratification of patrician luxury. The aſtoniſhing number which Verres had acquired during his government of Sicily, forms one of the moſt ſtriking features of the invectives of Cicero; who aſſerts, that throughout that whole province, ſo diſtinguiſhed by the riches and taſte of its inhabitants, there was not a ſingle ſtatue or figure, either of bronze, marble, or ivory, not a picture or a piece of tapeſtry, not a gem or a precious ſtone, not even a gold or ſilver utenſil, of the workmanſhip of Corinth or Delos, which Verres during his prætorſhip had not ſought out and examined, and if he approved of it, brought it away with him; inſomuch that Syracuſe, under his government, loſt more ſtatues than it had loſt ſoldiers in the victory of Marcellus (*a*). Such however was

artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac ſtatuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eos redditurus. *Vel. Paterc. lib.* i. *c.* 13.

(*a*) The very minute account given by the Roman orator, in his fourth accuſation againſt Verres, of the pieces of Grecian ſculpture which he obtained from Sicily, has enabled the Abbé Fraguier to draw up a diſſertation which he has entitled the *Gallery of Verres. Mém. de litt. v.* ix. *p.* 260. *Winkel. Storia delle art. del Diſegno, lib.* x. *c.* 3. *Ed. Milan,* 1779. *in not.* Amongſt thoſe particularly enumerated by Cicero, is a marble ſtatue of Cupid by Praxiteles; a Hercules in bronze by Myron, two Canephoræ, or female figures, repreſenting Athenian virgins, bearing on their heads implements of ſacrifice, the work of Polycletes; a celebrated ſtatue of Diana, which, after having been carried off from the citizens of Segeſta by the Carthaginians, was reſtored to them by Scipio Africanus, another of Mercury, which had been given them by the ſame liberal benefactor, the ſtatues of Ceres,

the desolation which took place in Italy during the middle ages, occasioned not only by natural calamities, but by the yet more destructive operation of moral causes, the rage of superstition and the ferocity of barbarian conquerors, that of the innumerable specimens of art, which, till the times of the later emperors, had decorated the palaces and villas of the Roman nobility, scarcely a specimen or a vestige was, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, to be discovered. Even the city of Rome could only display six statues, five of marble and one of brass, the remains of its former splendor (*a*); and the complaint of Petrarca was not therefore without reason, that Rome was in no place less known than in Rome itself (*b*).

In tracing the vicissitudes which the arts have

of Æsculapius, of Bacchus, and lastly that of Jupiter himself, of which the sacrilegious *amateur* scrupled not to plunder his temple at Syracuse. *Cic. in Verrem. lib.* iv.

(*a*) Hoc videbitur levius fortasse, sed me maximè movet, quod his subjiciam; ex inumeris ferme colossis, statuisque tum marmoreis, tum æneis (nam argenteas atque aureas minimè miror fuisse conflatas) viris illustribus ob virtutem positis, ut omittam varia signa, voluptatis atque artis causa publicè ad spectaculum collocata, marmoreas quinque tantùm, quatuor in Constantini thermis; duas stantes ponè equos, Phidiæ & Praxitelis opus; duas recubantes; quintam in foro martis, statuam quæ hodie Martis fori nomen tenet; atque æneam solam equestrem, deauratam, quæ est ad Basilicam Lateranensem, Septimio Severo dicatam, tantùm videmus supereſſe. *Pog. de varietate Fortunæ, p.* 20. The equestrian statue to which Poggio adverts, as that of Sep. Severus, is now recognized as the statue of Marcus Aurelius.

(*b*) Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanorum sunt quam Romani cives? Invitus dico, nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ. *Epist. Fam. lib.* vi. *Ep.* 2.

experienced, we obſerve with pleaſure, that the ſame perſons who ſignalized themſelves by their attention to preſerve the writings of the ancient authors, were thoſe to whom poſterity is indebted for the reſtoration of a better taſte in the arts. Petrarca himſelf is one of the firſt who diſplayed a marked attention to the remains of antiquity (*a*). On his interview with the emperor Charles IV. at Mantua, he preſented to that monarch a conſiderable number of coins, which he had himſelf collected; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that he would not have beſtowed them on any other perſon, and, with a degree of freedom which does him honor, recommending to the emperor, whilſt he ſtudied the hiſtory, to imitate the virtues of the perſons there repreſented (*b*). Lorenzo de' Medici, the brother

(*a*) The famous Cola di Rienzi, who called himſelf Tribune of Rome, and attempted in the fourteenth century to eſtabliſh the ancient republic, was, as well as his friend and panegyriſt Petrarca, a great admirer of the remains of antiquity. It is not indeed improbable, as Tiraboſchi conjectures, that the indulgence of this taſte firſt incited him to his romantic project. The character of Rienzi is given by a contemporary author in the following terms, which may ſerve as a curious ſpecimen of the Italian language: "*Fo da ſoa joventutine* "*nutricato de latte de eloquentia, bono Grammatico, megliore Ret-*" *torico, Autoriſta bravo. Deh como e quanto era veloce leitore!* "*Molto uſava Tito Livio, Seneca, e Tullio, e Balerio Maſſimo:* "*molto li dilettava le magnificentie de Julio Ceſare raccontare.* "*Tutto lo die ſe ſpeculava negl' intagli di marmo, li quali jaccio* "*intorno a Roma. Non era altri che eſſe che ſapeſſe lejere li antichi* "*pataffij. Tutte ſcriture antiche volgarizzava; queſte ſiure de* "*marmo juſtamente interpretava.*"

Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v. v. *p.* 314. *Mém. pour la vie de Petr. v.* ii. *p.* 335.

(*b*) Ecce (inquit) Cæſar, quibus ſucceſſiſti; ecce quos imitari ſtudeas.

of Cosmo, distinguished himself not only by his assiduity in collecting the remains of ancient authors, but also by a decided predilection for works of taste, in the acquisition of which he emulated the celebrity of his brother (*a*). From the funeral oration pronounced by Poggio on the death of Niccolo Niccoli, to whom the cause of literature is perhaps more indebted than to any individual who held merely a private station, we learn, that he was highly delighted with paintings and pieces of sculpture, of which he had collected a greater number, and of more exquisite workmanship, than any person of his time; and that visitors thronged to see them, not as to a private house, but as to a public exhibition (*b*). Nor was Poggio himself less attentive to the discovery and acquisition of these precious remains (*c*). "My chamber," says he, "is surrounded

& mirari, ad quorum formulam, atque imaginem, te componas, quos præter te unum nulli hominum daturus eram. *Epist. Fam. lib.* x.

(*a*) Erat enim (Laurentius) ditissimus agri, ditissimusque auri, atque pretiosæ vestis, & universæ supellectilis, signis, tabulis pictis, vasis cælatis, margaritis, libris, mirum in modum affluit, &c.

Ant. Tudertani Orat. in Ep. Amb. Trav.

(*b*) Delectabatur admodum tabulis & signis ac variis colaturis, priscorum more. Plura enim prope solus atque exquisitiora habebat quam ceteri fere omnes. Ad quæ visenda multi alliciebantur, ut non privato aliquo in loco, sed in Theatro quodam collocata ac exposita esse affirmares. *Poggii Op. p.* 276.

(*c*) "Effectus sum," says he, in his jocular style, "admodum "capitosus. Id quale sit, scire cupis? Habeo cubiculum refertum "capitibus marmoreis, inter quæ unum est elegans, integrum: alia "truncis naribus, sed quæ vel bonum artificem delectent. His & "nonnullis signis que procuro, ornare volo Academiam meam Val-"darninam, quo in loco quiescere est animus," &c.

Poggii Epist. ad Nic. Nicol.

" with buſts in marble, one of which is whole and " elegant. The others are indeed mutilated, and " ſome of them are even noſeleſs, yet they are ſuch " as may pleaſe a good artiſt. With theſe, and " ſome other pieces which I poſſeſs, I intend to " ornament my country ſeat." In a letter from Poggio to Franceſco da Piſtoia, a monk who had travelled to Greece in ſearch of antiquities, we have a much more explicit inſtance of the ardor with which he purſued this object (*a*) " By your letters from " Chios," ſays Poggio, I learn " that you have " procured for me three buſts in marble, one of " Minerva, another of Jupiter, a third of Bacchus. " Theſe letters afforded me great ſatisfaction, for I " am delighted beyond expreſſion with pieces of " ſculpture. I am charmed with the ſkill of the " artiſt, when I ſee marble ſo wrought as to imitate " Nature herſelf. You alſo inform me that you " have obtained a head of Apollo, and you add " from Virgil,

" *Miros ducent de marmore vultus.*"

" Believe me, my friend, you cannot confer a " greater favor on me than by returning laden " with ſuch works, by which you will abundantly " gratify my wiſhes. Different perſons labor under " different diſorders; that which principally affects " me is an admiration of theſe productions of emi- " nent ſculptors, to which I am perhaps more " devoted than becomes a man who may pretend " to ſome ſhare of learning. Nature herſelf, it is

(*a*) *App. No.* LXXII.

" true, muſt always excel theſe her copies; yet I " muſt be allowed to admire that art, which can " give ſuch expreſſion to inert materials, that " nothing but breath ſeems to be wanting. Exert " yourſelf therefore I beſeech you to collect, either " by entreaties or rewards, whatever you can find " that poſſeſſes any merit. If you can procure a " complete figure, *triumphatum eſt.*" Being informed by Franceſco, that a Rhodian named Suffretus had in his poſſeſſion a conſiderable number of antique ſculptures, Poggio addreſſed a letter to him, earneſtly requeſting to be favored with ſuch ſpecimens from his valuable collection as he might think proper to ſpare, and aſſuring him, that his kindneſs ſhould be remunerated by the earlieſt opportunity (*a*). In the ſame earneſt ſtyle, and for the ſame purpoſe, he addreſſed himſelf to Andreolo Giuſtiniano, a Venetian, then reſiding in Greece. Induced by his preſſing entreaties, both Suffretus and Giuſtiniano intruſted to the monk ſome valuable works; but, to the great diſappointment of Poggio, he betrayed the confidence repoſed in him, and under the pretext that he had been robbed of them in his voyage, defrauded Poggio of the chief part of his treaſures, which, as it afterwards appeared, he preſented to Coſmo de' Medici. The indignation of Poggio on this occaſion is poured forth in a letter to Giuſtiniano, whoſe liberality he again ſolicits and which he profeſſes to have in ſome degree repaid, by obtaining for him from the pope a diſpenſation

(*a*) *App. No.* LXXIII.

to enable his daughter to marry (*a*). Thus ſacrilegiouſly, though almoſt excuſably, bartering the favors of the church, for the objects of his favorite ſtudy, and the gratification of his taſte.

The riches of Coſmo de' Medici, and the induſtry of Donatello (*b*), united to give riſe to the celebrated collection of antiquities, which, with conſiderable additions, was tranſmitted by Piero to his ſon Lorenzo, and is now denominated the *Muſeum Florentinum*. By an eſtimate or account taken by Piero on the death of his father, it appears that theſe pieces amounted in value to more than 28,000 florins (*c*). But it was reſerved for Lorenzo to enrich this collection with its moſt valuable articles, and to render it ſubſervient to its true purpoſe, that of inſpiring in his countrymen a correct and genuine taſte for the arts.

Of the earneſtneſs with which Lorenzo engaged in this purſuit, ſome inſtances have already been adduced (*d*). "Such an admirer was he," ſays Valori (*e*), "of all the remains of antiquity, that "there was not any thing with which he was more "delighted. Thoſe who wiſhed to oblige him were

(*a*) *App. No.* LXXIV.

(*b*) Egli (Donato) fu potiſſima cagione che a Coſimo de' Medici ſi deſtaſſe la volontà dell' introdurre a Fiorenza le antichità, che ſono ed erano in caſa Medici, le quali tutte di ſua mano acconciò.

Vaſar. vita di Donato.

(*c*) *Fabr. in vitâ Coſm. Adnot. & Monum. p.* 231. *v. App. No.* LXXV.

(*d*) *Vol.* I. *p.* 152. See alſo the letter from Politiano to Lorenzo. *App. No.* LI.

(*e*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 18.

" accuſtomed to collect, from every part of the " world, medals and coins, eſtimable for their age " or their workmanſhip, ſtatues, buſts, and whatever " elſe bore the ſtamp of antiquity. On my return " from Naples," adds he, " I preſented him with " figures of Fauſtina and Africanus in marble, and " ſeveral other ſpecimens of ancient art; nor can " I eaſily expreſs with what pleaſure he received " them." Having long deſired to poſſeſs the reſemblance of Plato, he was rejoiced beyond meaſure, when Girolamo Roſcio of Piſtoia preſented to him a figure in marble of his favorite philoſopher, which was ſaid to have been found amongſt the ruins of the academy (*a*). By his conſtant attention to this purſuit, and by the expenditure of conſiderable ſums, he collected under his roof all the remains of antiquity that fell in his way, whether they tended to illuſtrate the hiſtory of letters or of arts (*b*). His acknowledged acquaintance with theſe productions induced the celebrated Fra Giocondo, of Verona, the moſt induſtrious antiquarian of his time, to inſcribe to him his collection of ancient inſcriptions, of which Politiano, who was a competent judge of the ſubject, ſpeaks with high approbation (*c*).

(*a*) In the diligent reſearches made at the inſtance of Lorenzo for the diſcovery of ancient manuſcripts, his agents frequently met with curious ſpecimens of art. The inventory of the books purchaſed by Giovanni Laſcar, from one Nicolo di Jacopo da Siena, concludes with particularizing a marble ſtatue. This contract and inventory are yet preſerved in MS. in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence. *Filz.* lxxxi. *No.* 26.

(*b*) *Valor. in vitâ Laur. p.* 18.

(*c*) *Polit. Miſcell. c.* 77.

But it is not the induſtry, the liberality, or the judgment ſhown by Lorenzo in forming his magnificent collection, ſo much as the important purpoſe to which he deſtined it, that entitles him to the eſteem of the profeſſors and admirers of the arts. Converſant from his youth with the fineſt forms of antiquity, he perceived and lamented the inferiority of his contemporary artiſts, and the impoſſibility of their improvement upon the principles then adopted. He determined therefore to excite among them, if poſſible, a better taſte, and by propoſing to their imitation the remains of the ancient maſters, to elevate their views beyond the forms of common life, to the contemplation of that ideal beauty which alone diſtinguiſhes works of art from mere mechanical productions. With this view he appropriated his gardens, adjacent to the monaſtery of S. Marco, to the eſtabliſhment of a ſchool or academy for the ſtudy of the antique, and furniſhed the different buildings and avenues with ſtatues, buſts, and other pieces of ancient workmanſhip. Of theſe he appointed the ſculptor Bertoldo, the favorite pupil of Donatello, but who was then far advanced in years, ſuperintendant. The attention of the higher rank of his fellow-citizens was incited to theſe purſuits by the example of Lorenzo; that of the lower claſs, by his liberality. To the latter he not only allowed competent ſtipends, whilſt they attended to their ſtudies, but appointed conſiderable premiums as the rewards of their proficiency (*a*).

(*a*) *Vaſari, vita di Torrigiano, e di Michelagnolo, &c.*

To this inſtitution, more than to any other circumſtance, we may, without heſitation, aſcribe the ſudden and aſtoniſhing proficiency which, towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, took place in the arts, and which commencing at Florence, extended itſelf in concentric circles to the reſt of Europe. The gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici are frequently celebrated by the hiſtorian of the painters, as the nurſery of men of genius (*a*); but if they had produced no other artiſt than Michelagnolo Buonarroti, they would ſufficiently have anſwered the purpoſes of their founder. It was here that this great man began to imbibe that ſpirit, which was deſtined to effect a reformation in the arts, and which he could perhaps have derived from no other ſource (*b*). Of a noble,

(*a*) Vaſari adverts alſo to this eſtabliſhment in his *Ragionamenti*. " Lorenzo aveva fatto fare il Giardino, ch'è ora in ſu la piazza di " San Marco, ſolamente perchè lo teneva pieno di figure antiche di " marmo, e pitture aſſai, e tutte eccellenti, ſolo per condurre una " ſcuola di giovani, i quali alla ſcultura, pittura, e architettura " attendeſſino a imparare, ſotto la cuſtodia di Bertoldo ſcultore, già " diſcepolo di Donatello, i quali giovani, tutti o la maggior parte " furno eccellenti; fra quali fu uno il noſtro Michelagnolo Buonarroti, " che è ſtato lo ſplendore, la vita, e la grandezza della ſcultura, " pittura, e architettura, avèndo voluto moſtrare il cielo, che non " poteva, nè doveva naſcere, ſe non ſotto queſto magnifico e illuſtre " uomo, per laſſar la ſua patria ereditaria, e il mondo di tante onorate " opere, quante ſi veggono di lui oggi, e di molti altri che io ho " viſte, di coteſta ſcuola onorata." *Vaſar. Ragionamenti, p.* 75.

(*b*) Mengs, on ſeveral occaſions, attributes the ſuperior excellence of Michelagnolo to the ſame favorable circumſtance. " Michelagnolo, " approfittandoſi delle ſtatue raccolte dai Medici, aprì gli occhi, e " conobbe che gli antichi avean tenuta una certa arte nell' imitare la " verità, con cui ſi faceva la imitazione più intelligibile, e più bella, " che nello ſteſſo originale," and again, after giving an hiſtorical

but reduced family, he had been placed by his father, when young, under the tuition of the painter Ghirlandajo, from whom Lorenzo, desirous of promoting his new establishment, requested that he would permit two of his pupils to pursue their studies in his gardens; at the same time expressing his hopes, that they would there obtain such instruction, as would not only reflect honor on the institution, but also on themselves and on their country. The students who had the good fortune to be thus selected were Michelagnolo and Francesco Granacci (*a*). On the first visit of Michelagnolo, he found in the gardens his future adversary, Torrigiano, who, under the directions of Bertoldo, was modelling figures in clay. Michelagnolo applied himself to the same occupation, and his work soon afterwards attracted the attention of Lorenzo, who, from these early specimens, formed great expectations of his

" account of the progress of the arts, he adds, In quello stato di cose " scappò un raggio di quella stessa luce, che illuminò l'antica Grecia, " quando Michelagnolo, il quale col suo gran talento avea già superato " il Ghirlandajo, vide le cose degli antichi Greci nella collezione " del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici."

Op. di Mengs, vol. ii. *p.* 99. 109.

(*a*) Dolendosi adunque Lorenzo, che amor grandissimo portava alla pittura, e alla scultura, che ne' suoi tempi non si trovassero scultori celebrati, e nobili, come si trovavano molti pittori di grandissimo pregio, e fama, deliberò di fare una scuola; e per questo chiese a Domenico Ghirlandajo, che se in bottega sua avesse de' suoi giovani, che inclinati fossero a ciò, gli inviasse al giardino, dove egli desiderava di esserciturli e creargli in una maniera, che onorasse se, e lui, e la città sua. Laonde da Domenico gli furono per ottimi giovani dati fra gli altri Michelagnolo, e Francesco Granacci.

Vasar. vita di Michelagn.

talents. Encouraged by ſuch approbation, he began to cut in marble the head of a faun, after an antique ſculpture (*a*), which, though unaccuſtomed to the chiſel, he executed with ſuch ſkill as to aſtoniſh Lorenzo; who, obſerving that he had made ſome intentional deviations from the original, and that in particular he had repreſented the lips ſmoother and had ſhown the tongue and teeth, remarked to him, with his accuſtomed jocularity, that he ſhould have remembered that old men ſeldom exhibit a complete range of teeth. The docile artiſt, who paid no leſs reſpect to the judgment, than to the rank of Lorenzo, was no ſooner left to himſelf, than he ſtruck out one of the teeth, giving to the part the appearance of its having been loſt by age (*b*). On his next viſit, Lorenzo was equally delighted with the diſpoſition and the genius of his young pupil, and ſending for his father, not only took the ſon under his particular protection, but made ſuch a proviſion for the old man, as his age and the circumſtances of his numerous family required (*c*).

(*a*) This early ſpecimen of the genius of Michelagnolo is yet preſerved in the Medicean gallery at Florence, in the keeper's room, and is equal, ſays Bottari, to a piece of Grecian workmanship; it has been engraved and published by Gori, in Condivi's life of Michelagnolo; but as Bottari obſerves, "poco felicemente, e con gran pregiu- "dizio dell' originale." *v. Bottari, not. ut ſup.*

(*b*) *Condivi, vita di Michelagnolo, p.* 5. *&c.*

(*c*) We learn from the narrative of Condivi, who relates theſe circumſtances with inſufferable minuteneſs, that when Lodovico, the father of Michelagnolo, encouraged by the kindneſs of Lorenzo, requeſted an office in the *Dogana* or cuſtom houſe, *in the place of Marco Pucci*, Lorenzo, who intended to provide him with a much better eſtabliſhment, replied, laying his hand on his ſhoulder, *Tu ſarai*

From this time till the death of Lorenzo, which included an interval of four years, Michelagnolo conſtantly reſided in the palace of the Medici, and ſat at the table of Lorenzo, among his moſt honored gueſts; where, by a commendable regulation, the troubleſome diſtinctions of rank were aboliſhed, and every perſon took his place in the order of his arrival. Hence the young artiſt found himſelf at once aſſociated, on terms of equality, with all that was illuſtrious and learned in Florence, and formed thoſe connexions and friendſhips which, if they do not create, are at leaſt neceſſary to promote and reward ſuperior talents (*a*). His leiſure hours were paſſed in contemplating the intaglios, gems, and medals, of which Lorenzo had collected an aſtoniſhing number, whence he imbibed that taſte for antiquarian reſearches, which was of eſſential ſervice to him in his more immediate ſtudies, and which he retained to the cloſe of his life (*b*).

Whilſt Michelagnolo was thus laying the ſure

ſempre povero. He gave him however the office for which he applied, which was worth eight ſcudi per month, *poco più o meno*, ſays the accurate hiſtorian. *Condiv. ut ſup.*

(*a*) Lorenzo fece dare a Michelagnolo una bonna camera in caſa, dandogli tutte quelle comodità, ch' egli deſiderava, nè altrimenti trattandolo si in altro, si nella ſua menſa, che da figliuolo: alla quale, come d'un tal' uomo, ſedeano ogni giorno perſonaggi nobiliſſimi e di grande affare. Ed eſſendovi queſta uſanza, che quei, che da principio ſi trovavano preſenti, ciaſcheduno appreſſo il magnifico ſecondo il ſuo grado ſedeſſe, non ſi movendo di luogo, per qualunque dipoi ſopraggiunto foſſe; avenne bene ſpeſſo, che Michelagnolo ſedette ſopra i figliuoli di Lorenzo, ed altre perſone pregiate, di che tal caſa di continuo fioriva ed abbondava, &c. *Cond. ut ſupr.*

(*b*) *Condiv. ut ſupra.*

foundation

foundation of his future fame, and giving daily proofs of his rapid improvement, he formed an intimacy with Politiano, who refided under the fame roof, and who foon became warmly attached to his intereſts. At his recommendation, Michelagnolo executed a *baſſo-rilievo* in marble, the ſubject of which is the battle of the Centaurs. This piece yet ornaments the dwelling of one of his deſcendants; and, although not wholly finiſhed, diſplays rather the hand of an experienced maſter, than that of a pupil. But its higheſt commendation is, that it ſtood approved even in the riper judgement of the artiſt himſelf; who, although not indulgent to his own productions, did not heſitate, on ſeeing it ſome years afterwards, to expreſs his regret that he had not entirely devoted himſelf to this branch of art (*a*). The death of Lorenzo too ſoon deprived him of his protector. Piero, the ſon of Lorenzo, continued indeed to ſhow to him the ſame marks of kindneſs which his father had uniformly done; but that prodigality, which ſo ſpeedily diſſipated his authority, his fortune, and his fame, was extended even to his amuſements; and the talents of Michelagnolo, under the patronage of Piero, inſtead of impreſſing on braſs or on marble the forms of immortality, were condemned to raiſe a ſtatue of ſnow (*b*)! Nor was this intercourſe of long

(*a*) Così la impreſa gli ſuccedette, che mi rammenta udirlo dire, che quando la rivede, cognoſſe quanto torto egli abbia fatto alla natura, a non ſeguitar prontamente l'arte della ſcultura, facendo giudizio per quell' opera, quanto poteſſe riuſcire. *Cond. vita di M. A.*

(*b*) Eſſendo in Firenze venuta dimolta neve, Pier de' Medici,

continuance, for Piero, inſtead of affording ſupport to others, was ſoon obliged to ſeek, in foreign countries, a ſhelter for himſelf.

The hiſtory of Michelagnolo forms that of all the arts which he profeſſed. In him ſculpture, painting and architecture ſeem to have been perſonified. Born with talents ſuperior to his predeceſſors, he had alſo a better fate. Ghilberti, Donatello, Verocchio, were all men of genius, but they lived during the gentile ſtate of the art (*a*). The light had now riſen, and his young and ardent mind, converſant with the fineſt forms of antiquity, imbibed, as its genuine ſource, a reliſh for their excellence. With the ſpecimens of ancient art, the depoſitaries of ancient learning were unlocked to him, and of theſe alſo he made no inconſiderable uſe. As a poet he is entitled to rank high amongſt his countrymen; and the triple wreaths of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, with which his diſciples decorated his tomb, might, without exaggeration, have been interwoven with a fourth (*b*).

figliuol maggiore di Lorenzo, che nel medeſimo luogo del padre era reſtato, ma non nella medeſima grazia, volendo, come giovane, far fare nel mezzo della ſua corte una ſtatua di neve ſi ricordò di Michelagnolo, e fattolo cercare, gli fece far la ſtatua, &c. *Condiv.* *p.* 8. This ſtatue was a juſt emblem of the fortunes of its founder.

(*a*) Michelagnolo, ch'ebbe sì grande ingegno, non traſſe dal ſuo proprio fondo la ſua arte, nè con quello ſolo avrebbe trovata la ſtrada di uſcir da' limiti di quello ſtile ſecco, e ſervile, che fin allora regnava in Italia; e ſenza un grande ſtudio, nè ſenza l'oſſervazione delle ſtatue antiche, non farebbe ſtato forſe che uguale a un Donatello, e a un Ghiberti. *Opere di Mengs*, *v.* ii. *p.* 189.

(*b*) The poems of Michelagnolo were published by his great-nephew Michelagnolo, Buonarroti il Giovane, at Florence, in 1623, and are

Of the ſculptures of Michelagnolo, ſome yet remain in an unfiniſhed ſtate, which ſtrikingly diſplay the comprehenſion of his ideas and the rapidity of his execution. Such are the buſt of Brutus, and the ſtatue of a female figure, in the gallery at Florence. In the latter the chiſel has been handled with ſuch boldneſs, as to induce a connoiſſeur of our own country to conjecture that it would be neceſſary, in the finiſhing, to reſtore the cavities (*a*). Perhaps a more involuntary homage was never paid to genius, than that which was extorted from the ſculptor Falconet, who having preſumed upon all occaſions to cenſure the ſtyle of Michelagnolo, without having had an opportunity of inſpecting any of his works, at length obtained a ſight of two of his ſtatues, which were brought into France by cardinal Richelieu. *I have ſeen Michelagnolo*, exclaimed the French artiſt, *he is terrific* (*b*).

The labors of the painter are neceſſarily tranſitory for ſo are the materials that compoſe them. In a few years Michelagnolo will be known, like an

ranked with the *Teſti di Lingua* of Italian literature. They were again reprinted at Florence in 1726, with the *Lezzioni* of Benedetto Varchi, and Mario Guiducci, on ſome of his ſonnets. Tenhove has juſtly appreciated their merits. " Les ſonnets & les *Canzoni* de Michelange " ne ſont point chargés d'ornemens ambitieux; ils ſe reſſentent de " l'auſtère ſimplicité de ſon génie: cependant rien ne les fait autant " valoir, que la main dont ils ſont partis." *Mém. Gén. liv.* xix. *p.* 317.

(*a*) *Richardſon, Deſcription des Tabl. &c. vol.* iii. *p.* 87.

(*b*) " J'ai vu Michelange; *Il eſt effrayant.*" *Falcon. ap. Tenh.* The pieces which occaſioned this exclamation were two of the ſtatues intended to compoſe a part of the monument of Julius II.

ancient artiſt, only by his works in marble. Already it is difficult to determine, whether his reputation be enhanced or diminiſhed by the ſombre repreſentations of his pencil in the Pauline and Sixtine chapels, or by the few ſpecimens of his cabinet pictures, now rarely to be met with, and exhibiting only a ſhadow of their original excellence. But the chief merit of this great man is not to be ſought for in the remains of his pencil, nor even in his ſculptures, but in the general improvement of the public taſte which followed his aſtoniſhing productions. If his labors had periſhed with himſelf, the change which they effected in the opinions and the works of his contemporaries would ſtill have entitled him to the firſt honors of the art. Thoſe who from ignorance, or from envy, have endeavoured to depreciate his productions, have repreſented them as exceeding in their forms and attitudes the limits and the poſſibilities of nature, as a race of beings, the mere creatures of his own imagination; but ſuch critics would do well to conſider, whether the great reform to which we have alluded could have been effected by the moſt accurate repreſentations of common life, and whether any thing ſhort of that ideal excellence which he only knew to embody, could have accompliſhed ſo important a purpoſe. The genius of Michelagnolo was a leaven which was to operate on an immenſe and heterogeneous maſs, the ſalt intended to give a reliſh to inſipidity itſelf; it was therefore active, penetrating, energetic, ſo as not only effectually to reſiſt the contagious effects of a depraved

taſte, but to communicate a portion of its ſpirit to all around.

Of the contemporary artiſts of Michelagnolo, ſuch only are entitled to high commendation as accompanied his ſtudies, or availed themſelves of his example. Among theſe appears the divine Raffaello; ſecond to his great model only in that grandeur of deſign which elevates the mind, ſuperior to him in that grace which intereſts the heart. Endowed, if not with vigor ſufficient alone to effect a reform, with talents the beſt calculated to promote its progreſs (*a*). It is well known that the works of this exquiſite maſter form two diſtinct claſſes, thoſe which he painted before, and thoſe which he painted after he had caught from the new Prometheus a portion of the ethereal fire—thoſe of the ſcholar of Perugino and of the competitor of Michelagnolo. "Happy "age," exclaims, with more than common animation, the hiſtorian of the painters, "and happy "artiſts, for ſo I may well denominate you who, "have had the opportunity of purifying your eyes "at ſo clear a fountain; who have found your "difficulties removed, your crooked paths made "ſtraight by ſo wonderful an artiſt: know then, "and honor the man who has enabled you to "diſtinguiſh between truth and falſhood, and let "your gratitude be ſhown in returning your thanks

(*a*) Raffaello ſteſſo ci ha laſciate nelle ſue opere le tracce de' ſuoi ſtudj; e ſenza le lezioni di Fra Bartolommeo, e la viſta delle opere di Michelagnolo, e delle coſe antiche, non goderemmo oggi le ſue maravigliose pitture. *Op. di Mengs, v.* ii. *p.* 189.

« to heaven, and in imitating Michelagnolo in all « things (*a*).

Genius is ever obnoxious to that criticiſm which mediocrity eſcapes, nor has this teſt been wanting to the merits of Michelagnolo. The paraſites of a vicious court, and a corrupt age, have not heſitated to charge him with indecency, in introducing naked figures in his celebrated picture of the laſt judgment. This accuſation was made even in his lifetime, by one who called himſelf his friend, and

(*a*) *Vaſari, vita di Michelagnolo.* Gianfranceſco Grazzini, called *Il Laſca,* alſo celebrates his countryman in the true Florentine idiom:

Giotto fu il primo, ch' alla dipintura,
Già lungo tempo morta, deſſe vita.
E Donatello meſſe la ſcultura
Nel ſuo dritto ſentier, ch' era ſmarrita:
Così l'architettura
Storpiata, e guaſta, dalle man' de' Tedeſchi,
Anzi quaſi baſita,
Da Pippo Brunelleſchi,
Solenne Architettor, fu meſſa in vita;
Onde gloria infinita
Meritar queſti tre ſpirti divini,
Nati in Firenze e noſtri cittadini.
E di queſte tre arti, i Fiorentini
Han ſempre poi tenuto il vanto e'l pregio.
Dopo queſto, l'egregio
Michelagnol divin, dal cielo eletto,
Pittor, ſcultore, architettor perfetto,
Che dove i primi tre maeſtri eccellenti
Gittaro i fondamenti,
Alle tre nobil' arti ha poſto il tetto.
Onde meritamente,
Chiamato è dalla gente
Vero maeſtro, e padre del diſegno, &c.

Il Laſca, ſop. la dipintura della Cupola.

who saw no impropriety in representing it as proceeding from the obscene lips of Pietro Aretino (*a*). It soon however became so prevalent, that in the pontificate of Paul IV. it was in contemplation to destroy this astonishing picture, which was at last only preserved by the expedient of covering those parts which were supposed to be likely to excite in the minds of the depraved spectators ideas unsuitable to the solemnity of the place. The painter who undertook this office was ever afterwards distinguished by the name of *Il Braghettone*. These inculpations were renewed in the succeeding century, by a man of talents and celebrity, who united like Michelagnolo, the character of a painter and a poet, without having one idea in common with him (*b*). But what shall we say of an artist who

(*a*) In the dialogue of Lodovico Dolce on painting, entitled *L'Aretino* — Aretino, who is supposed to speak the sentiments of the author, observes, " Chi ardirà di affermar, che stia bene, che nella " chiesa di San Pietro, principe degli apostoli, in una Roma, ove " concurre tutto il mondo, nella cappella del Pontefice, il quale, " come ben dice il Bembo, in terra ne assembra Dio, si veggano " dipinti tanti ignudi, che dimostrano disonestamente dritti e reversi: " cosa nel vero, (favellando con ogni sommessione,) di quel santis- " simo luogo indegna." Fabrini, the other colloquialist, justifies Michelagnolo by alledging the example of Raffaello, who is said to have designed the lascivious prints engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi, under which the same Aretino wrote his infamous verses; but it is easy to see that such a justification is an admission of the charge. *Dolce, Dialog. p.* 236. *Ed. Flor.* 1735.

(*b*) Salvator Rosa, in his satire entitled *La Pittura*, relating instances of the arrogance and pride of his predecessors, introduces the well-known story of the critic *Biagio*, who, having censured the famous picture of the last judgment, was, in return, represented by Michel-

could mingle with the contemplation of a ſubject ſo intereſting to all mankind, which unites every thing terrible and ſublime, and abſorbs all other paſſions, an idea that can only have a relation to the decorums of modern life, and to that factitious decency which, by affecting concealment, acknowledges a pruriency of imagination, to which true taſte, as well as true modeſty, is a ſtranger?

The favors of Lorenzo de' Medici were not however excluſively beſtowed. Although he well knew how to appreciate and to reward extraordinary excellence, he was not inattentive to the juſt claims

agnolo in a group of the damned. According to Salvator, Biagio thus addreſſed the painter:

Michel Agnolo mio, non parlo in gioco,
Queſto che dipingete è un gran giudizio,
Ma del giudicio voi n'avete poco.
Io non vi taſſo intorno all' artifizio,
Ma parlo del coſtume, in cui mi pare
Che il voſtro gran ſaper ſi cangi in vizio.
Sapevi pur che il figlio di Noè,
Perchè ſcoperſe le vergogne al padre,
Tirò l'ira di Dio ſovra di ſe;
E voi, ſenza temer Chriſto e la Madre
Fate, che moſtrin le vergogne parte,
Infin de' Santi qui l'intiere ſquadre.

And that it may not be imagined that Salvator did not himſelf approve the ſentiments of the critic, he adds,

In udire il pittor queſte propoſte,
Divenuto di rabbia roſſo, e nero,
Non potè proferir le ſue riſpoſte;
Nè potendo di lui l'orgoglio altero
Sfogare il ſuo furor per altre bande.
Dipinſe nell' inferno il Cavaliero.

Satir. di Salv. Roſa. Ed. Lond. 1791.

of thoſe who made a proficiency in any branch of the arts. Where the indication of talents appeared he was ſolicitous to call them into action, to accelerate their progreſs, and to repay their ſucceſs. " It is highly deſerving of notice," ſays Vaſari, " that all thoſe who ſtudied in the gardens of the " Medici, and were favored by Lorenzo, became " moſt excellent artiſts, which can only be attributed " to the exquiſite judgment of this great patron of " their ſtudies, who could not only diſtinguiſh men " of genius, but had both the will and the power " to reward them (*a*)." By his kindneſs the eminent ſculptor Ruſtici was placed under the care of Andrea Verocchio (*b*), where he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci; but although he availed himſelf of the friendſhip and the inſtructions of this wonderful man, he acknowledged Lorenzo as the parent of his ſtudies (*c*). Franceſco Granacci, the fellow-ſtudent of Michelagnolo, partook alſo of

(*a*) È gran coſa ad ogni modo, che tutti coloro, i quali furono nella ſcuola del Giardino de' Medici, e favoriti dal Mag. Lorenzo vecchio, furono tutti eccellentiſſimi; la qual coſa d'altronde non può eſſere avvenuta, ſe non dal molto, anzi infinito giudizio di quel nobiliſſimo ſignore, vero Mecenate degli uomini virtuoſi; il quale come ſapeva conoſcere gl' ingegni, e ſpirti elevati, così poteva e ſapeva riconoſcergli e premiargli. *Vaſari, vita del Ruſtici.*

(*b*) Portandoſi dunque beniſſimo Giovanfranceſco Ruſtici, cittadin Fiorentino, nel diſegnare, e fare di terra, mentre era giovinetto, fu da eſſo magnifico Lorenzo, il quale lo conobbe ſpiritoſo, e di bello e buon ingegno, meſſo a ſtare, perchè imparaſſe, con Andrea del Verocchio, &c. *Vaſari, vita del Ruſtici.*

(*c*) Eſſendo poi tornata in Fiorenza la Famiglia de' Medici, Il Ruſtico ſi fece conoſcere al Cardinale Giovanni, per creatura di Lorenzo ſuo padre, e fu ricevuto con molte carezze. *Ibid.*

the favor of Lorenzo, and was occaſionally employed by him in preparing the ſplendid pageants with which he frequently amuſed the citizens of Florence; in the decoration of which Granacci diſplayed uncommon taſte (*a*). The reputation acquired by the pupils of S. Marco ſoon extended beyond the limits of Italy. At the requeſt of the king of Portugal, Lorenzo ſent into that country Andrea Contucci, where he left various monuments of his talents in ſculpture and architecture (*b*). The encouragement afforded by him to the profeſſors of every branch of the arts, may be eſtimated in ſome degree by the numerous pieces executed at his expenſe by the firſt maſters of the time, accounts of which are occaſionally diſperſed through the voluminous work of Vaſari. Like his anceſtor Coſmo, Lorenzo often forgot the ſuperiority of the patron in the familiarity of the friend, and not only excuſed but delighted in the capriciouſneſs which frequently diſtinguiſhes men of talents. In this number was Niccolo Groſſo, a Florentine citizen, who wrought

(*a*) Franceſco Granacci——fu uno di quelli, che dal Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fu meſſo a imparare nel ſuo giardino, &c. E perchè era molto gentile, e valeva aſſai in certe galanterie, che per feſte di carnovale ſi facevano nella città, fu ſempre in molte coſe ſimili dal Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici adoperato.

Vaſari, vita di Fr. Granac.

(*b*) Per queſte, e per l'altre opere d'Andrea, divulgatoſi il nome ſuo, fu chieſto al magnifico Lorenzo vecchio de' Medici, nel cui giardino avea, come ſi è detto, atteſo agli ſtudj del diſegno, dal re di Portagallo, perchè mandatogli da Lorenzo, lavorò per quel re molte opere di ſcultura, e d'architettura, e particolarmente un belliſſimo palazzo, &c. *Vaſar. vita di Contucci.*

ornaments in iron with extraordinary ſkill. Conſcious of his merits Niccolo reſolved to labor only for thoſe who paid him ready money, referring his employers to the ſign ſuſpended at his door, which repreſented books of account deſtroyed in the flame. Lorenzo, deſirous of preſenting to ſome of his powerful friends abroad a ſpecimen of Florentine ingenuity, called upon Niccolo to engage him to execute for him a piece of his workmanſhip; but the ſurly artiſan, who was buſy at his anvil, inſtead of acknowledging the honor intended him, bluntly told Lorenzo that he had other cuſtomers who, having firſt applied, muſt be firſt ſerved. The invincible pertinacity of Niccolo, in refuſing to work till he had received his uſual depoſit, occaſioned Lorenzo to give him the name of *Il Caparra* (*a*), by which he was ever afterwards generally known (*b*).

The ſtudy of architecture, as revived by Brunelleſchi, received additional ſupport from the encouragement afforded by Lorenzo de' Medici, who, to the munificence of his grandfather, ſuperadded a knowledge of this ſcience equal to that of a practical artiſt. At his inſtance, and often at his individual expenſe, the city of Florence was ornamented with a profuſion of elegant buildings, as well for private reſidence, as public purpoſes. Convinced that the art was founded on fixed and determined principles, which were only to be diſcovered in the labors of the ancients, he juſtly reprobated thoſe profeſſors who, neglecting the

(*a*) From *Arrha*, *Arrhabo*, a pledge, or earneſt.

(*b*) *Vaſari, vita di Simone detto il Cronaca.*

rules of Vitruvius, followed only the variable ſuggeſtions of their own fancy. Nor was he leſs ſevere on thoſe who, without any previous knowledge of the art, conceived themſelves equal to the taſk of conducting a building on an extenſive ſcale, and, in the erection of their dwellings, choſe to become their own architects. "Such people," ſaid Lorenzo "buy repentance at too dear a rate (*a*)." Of this deſcription was his relation, Franceſco de' Medici, who having erected a large houſe at Majano, and made ſeveral alterations in its progreſs, complained to Lorenzo of the great expenſe with which it had been attended: "That is not to be wondered at," replied Lorenzo, "when, inſtead of erecting your "building from a model, you draw your model "from your building (*b*)." His ſuperior judgment in works of this kind was acknowledged on many occaſions. Ferdinand, king of Naples, intending to build a palace, conceived no one more competent to direct him in the choice of a plan than Lorenzo. His aſſiſtance was alſo ſought for on a ſimilar occaſion by the duke of Milan; and Filippo Strozzi, in the erection of a manſion, which in grandeur of deſign and richneſs of execution is not inferior to a royal reſidence, availed himſelf greatly of his advice and directions (*c*). It does not however appear, that

(*a*) Illos vel maxime reprehendere ſolebat quicumque in diem temerè ædificarent, eos dicens *caro admodum emere pœnitentiam*. *Valor. in vitâ, p.* 63.

(*b*) *Valor. ut ſupra.*

(*c*) Multi enim, multa regia ædificia de Laurentii conſilio extruxere. In quibus Philippi Strozziæ inſulares ædes, quæ amplitudine ſua, &c

Lorenzo on any occaſion thought proper to diſpenſe with the aid of thoſe who had made this art their more immediate ſtudy. Having formed the intention of erecting his place at Poggio-Cajano, he obtained deſigns from ſeveral of the beſt architects of the time, and amongſt the reſt from Giuliano the ſon of Paolo Giamberto, whoſe model was preferred by Lorenzo, and under whoſe directions the building was carried on; but in the conſtruction of the picturesque and ſingular flight of ſteps, which communicated to every part with ſuch convenience, that a perſon might aſcend or deſcend even on horſeback, Lorenzo availed himſelf of a deſign of Stefano d'Ugolino, a painter of Siena, who died about the year 1350 (*a*). Lorenzo was deſirous that the ceiling of the great hall ſhould be formed by a ſingle arch. but was appprehenſive that it would not be practicable, on account of its extent. Giuliano was at that time erecting a reſidence for himſelf in Florence, where he took an opportunity of executing one in the manner ſuggeſted by Lorenzo, and ſucceeded ſo effectually as to remove his doubts on this head. The ceiling at Poggio-Cajano was accordingly completed, and is acknowledged to be the

grata membrorum diſpoſitione, totiuſque ædificii venuſtate & magnificentia ſuperant, ſine ulla controverſia, non ſolum privatas domos, ſed principales & regias. Magno area conſtitit in urbe media: impendium ad centum aureorum millia acceſſurum putatur. De modulo Philippus Laurentium conſuluit, qui quidem aderat omnibus ſuper hac re operam ſuam cupientibus, nec civilibus ſolum, ſed etiam externis. *Valor. in vitâ, p.* 63. For a particolar account of this ſplendid reſidence, *v. Vaſari, vita di Simone detto il Cronaca.*

(*a*) *Vaſar. vita di Giuliano da San Gallo, v.* ii. *p.* 78.

largeſt vaulted roof of modern workmanſhip that had then been ſeen (*a*). The talents of this artiſt induced Lorenzo to recommend him to Ferdinand king of Naples, to whom he preſented, on the part of Lorenzo, the model of an intended palace. His reception was highly honorable. On his departure Ferdinand ſupplied him with horſes, apparel, and other valuable articles, amongſt which was a ſilver cup containing ſeveral hundred ducats. Giuliano, whilſt he declined accepting it, expreſſed a deſire that the king would gratify him with ſome ſpecimen of ancient art, from his extenſive collection, which might be a proof of his approbation. Ferdinand accordingly preſented him with a buſt of the emperor Adrian, a ſtatue of a female figure larger than life, and a ſleeping Cupid; all of which Giuliano immediately ſent to Lorenzo, who was no leſs pleaſed with the liberality of the artiſt, than with the acquiſition of ſo valuable a treaſure (*b*). At the requeſt of the celebrated Mariano Genazano, Lorenzo had promiſed to erect, without the gate of San Gallo at Florence, a monaſtery capable of containining one hundred monks. On the return

(*a*) Giuliano had before been employed by Lorenzo in fortifying the town of Caſtellana, when that place was attacked by the duke of Calabria, in which he rendered eſſential ſervices to his patron. The Florentines were at that time very defective in the uſe of their artillery, which they ſcarcely ventured to approach, and which frequently occaſioned fatal accidents to thoſe who directed it; but the ingenuity of the young architect remedied this defect; in conſequence of which the army of the duke was ſo ſeverely cannonaded as to be obliged to raiſe the ſiege. *Vaſar. ut ſupra.*

(*b*) *Vaſar. vita di Giuliano da San Gallo.*

of Giuliano to Florence, he engaged him in this work, whence he obtained the name of *San Gallo*, by which he was always afterwards diſtinguiſhed (*a*). Whilſt this building was carrying forwards, Giuliano was alſo employed by Lorenzo in deſigning and erecting the extenſive fortifications of Poggio Imperiale, preparatory to the founding a city on that ſpot, as was his intention (*b*). To this artiſt, who arrived at great eminence in the enſuing century, and to his brother Antonio, architecture is indebted for the completion of the Tuſcan order, as now eſtabliſhed; and for conſiderable improvements in the Doric.

Beſides the many magnificent works begun under the immediate directions of Lorenzo, he ſeduloufly attended to the completion of ſuch buildings as had been left imperfect by his anceſtors. On the church of S. Lorenzo, the building of which was begun by his great grandfather Giovanni, and continued by his Grandfather Coſmo, he expended a large ſum. At the requeſt of Matteo Boſſo he alſo completed the monaſtery begun by Brunelleſchi at Fieſole (*c*),

(*b*) Giuliano remonſtrated with Lorenzo on this alteration.—"By "your calling me *San Gallo*," ſaid he, "I ſhall loſe my name, and "inſtead of becoming reſpectable by the antiquity of my family, I "ſhall have to found it anew. Surely," ſaid Lorenzo, "it is more "honorable to be the founder of a new family by your own talents, "than to reſt your reputation on the merits of others." *Vaſar. ut ſupra.*

(*c*) *Vaſar. ut ſupra.*

(*a*) The letter of Boſſo, which was addreſſed to Lorenzo in the height of his proſperity, and touches upon many circumſtances of his life and character, is given from the *Recuperationes Feſulanæ*, in the Appendix, *No.* LXXVI.

at the ſame time expreſſing his regret that he ſhould have rendered it neceſſary to ſolicit him to do that which he conceived to be an indiſpenſible duty (*a*).

Amongſt the various kinds of picturesque repreſentation practiſed by the Greeks and Romans, and tranſmitted by them to after-times, is that of Moſaic; a mode of execution, which, in its durability of form, and permanency of color, poſſeſſes diſtinguiſhed advantages, being unaffected by drought or moiſture, heat or cold, and periſhing only with the building to which it has been originally attached. This art, during the middle ages, had experienced the ſame viciſſitudes as attended all thoſe with which it is ſo nearly connected. Some attempts had, however, been made to reſtore it by Andrea Taſi, the contemporary of Giotto (*b*); and even Giotto himſelf had cultivated it, not without ſucceſs, although the celebrated picture over the great door of St. Peter at Rome, called the *Navicella di Giotto*, is ſaid to be a more modern work, copied from a former one of that artiſt (*c*). Lorenzo was deſirous of introducing this mode of execution into more general practice. On expreſſing to Graſſione, a Florentine painter, his intention of ornamenting with work of this kind the vault of a large cupola, the painter ventured to obſerve to him that he had not artiſts equal to the taſk: "We have money enough "to make them," replied Lorenzo; and although

(*a*) *Fabr. in vitâ, v.* i. *p.* 148.

(*b*) *Vaſar. vita di Andrea.*

(*c*) *Tenh. Mém. Généal. liv.* vii. *p.* 131.

Graſſione

Graffione ſtill continued incredulous (*a*), Lorenzo ſoon afterwards met with a perſon who ſuited his purpoſe in the painter Gherardo, who had generally applied himſelf to works in miniature. The ſpecimen produced by Gherardo for the inſpection of Lorenzo was a head of S. Zenobio, with which he was ſo well pleaſed, that he reſolved to enlarge the chapel of that ſaint at Florence, in order to give the artiſt an opportunity of exhibiting his talents in a wider field. With Gherardo he aſſociated Domenico Ghirlandajo, as a more complete maſter of deſign, and the work was commenced with great ſpirit. Vaſari aſſures us, that if death had not interpoſed there was reaſon to believe from the part that was executed, that theſe artiſts would have performed wonderful things (*b*).

But if the attempts made by Lorenzo to reſtore the practice of Moſaic were thus in a great degree fruſtrated, a diſcovery was made about the ſame period which proved an ample ſubſtitute for it, and which has given to the works of the painter that

(*a*) Graffione, with that familiarity which the artiſts appear to have uſed towards Lorenzo, replied, "Eh Lorenzo, i danari non fanni i "maeſtri, ma i maeſtri fanno i danari."

(*b*) By whoſe death the further progreſs of this work was interrupted, may be doubted. The words of Vaſari are, "Per lo che Gherardo, "aſſottigliando l'ingegno, harebbe fatto con Domenico mirabiliſſime "coſe, ſe la morte non vi ſi fuſſe interpoſta; come ſi può giudicare "dal principio della detta capella, che rimaſe imperfetta." But, by a ſubſequent paſſage in the life of Ghirlandajo, it ſeems it was the death of Lorenzo that prevented the completion of the work, "—— "come, per la morte del predetto Magnifico Lorenzo, rimaſe imperfetta "in Firenza la Capella di S. Zanobi, comminciata a lavorare di "Muſaico Domenico in compagnia di Gherardo miniatore."

permanency which even the durability of Moſaic might not perhaps have ſupplied. This was the art of transferring to paper impreſſions from engravings on copper, or other metals; an invention which has tended more than any other circumſtance to diffuſe throughout Europe a juſt and general taſte for the arts.

This diſcovery is attributed by the Italians to Maſo, or Tomaſo Finiguerra, a goldſmith of Florence, who being accuſtomed to engrave on different metals for the purpoſe of inlaying them, occaſionally tried the effects of his work by taking off impreſſions, firſt on ſulphur, and afterwards on paper, by means of a roller, in ſuch a manner that the figures ſeemed to have been traced with a pen. It does not appear that Finiguerra ever applied this invention to any other purpoſe than that of aſcertaining the progreſs of his work; nor have the reſearches of the moſt diligent inquirers diſcovered a ſingle print that can with any degree of probability be attributed to him; but Baccio Baldini, another goldſmith, conceiving that this diſcovery might be applied to more important purpoſes, began to engrave on metals, ſolely with a view of tranſmitting impreſſions to paper. Poſſeſſing, however, no great ſkill in deſign, he prevailed on Sandro Botticello to furniſh him with drawings ſuitable for his purpoſe. The concurrence of Antonio Pollajuoli, and Andrea Mantegna, carried the art to greater perfection. Of the works of the laſt-mentioned maſter many ſpecimens yet remain, which do credit to his talents. The beginning of the enſuing century produced a much ſuperior artiſt

in Marcantonio Raimondi, by whoſe induſtry the numerous productions of Raffaello, the tranſcripts of his rich and creative mind, were committed to paper with an accuracy which he himſelf approved, and may ſerve as a ſtandard to mark in future times the progreſs or the decline of the arts (*a*).

(*a*) The credit of having given riſe to this elegant and uſeful art has been contended for by different countries, and their various pretenſions have been weighed and conſidered by many authors. It is however generally agreed, that it begun with the goldſmiths, and was afterwards adopted by the painters. The union of theſe two profeſſions has thus produced a third, which has riſen to conſiderable importance. The Germans, who have diſputed with the Italians the honor of the invention with the greateſt degree of plauſibility, have not in point of fact controverted the narrative given by the Italians of the riſe of the art, nor brought forwards any account of their own, but have ſimply endeavoured to show that it was practiſed in Germany at an earlier period. Mr. Heineken aſſerts, that the earlieſt prints engraved in Italy that bear a date, are the maps to the edition of Ptolemy, printed at Rome in 1478; the earlieſt picturesque repreſentations, thoſe prefixed to ſome of the cantos of Dante in 1482; whilſt he adduces inſtances of German execution that bear the date of 1466, by comparing the manner of which with other pieces, apparently of earlier workmanship, he conjectures that the art had its riſe in Germany about the year 1440. *Idée Générale, p.* 232. *Non noſtrum tantas componere lites.* I ſhall only obſerve, that little dependance is to be placed on conjectures from prints without a date, particularly thoſe of German workmanship, as the artiſts of that country continued to produce them in the moſt rude and Gothic ſtyle, both as to deſign and execution, long after the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when Albert Durer, and Lucа van Leyden had ſet them a better example. On the other hand, impartiality obliges me to remark, that Thiraboſchi, who ſtrenuouſly claims for his countrymen the merit of the diſcovery, has not diſcuſſed this ſubject with his uſual accuracy. Firſt, he is miſtaken in aſſerting that Baldinucci fixes the commencement of the art in the beginning of the fifteenth century. *Storia della Lett. Ital. v.* ii. *p.* 2. *p.* 399. Baldinucci only ſays in

Whilſt the art of transferring to paper impreſſions from copper was thus firſt practiſed, that of engraving in gems and ſtones was again ſucceſsfully revived. The predilection of Lorenzo de' Medici for the beautiful ſpecimens of ſkill which the ancients have left in materials of this nature, has frequently been noticed (*a*). Of thoſe which once formed a part of his immenſe collection, ſome occaſionally occur that ſeem to have been the objects of his more particular

general, that the art had its beginning in the fifteenth century. "*Queſt' arte ebbe ſuo principio nel ſecolo del* 1400." Secondly, on the authority of a document produced by Manni, he ſuppoſes that Tomaſo Finiguerra, the inventor of the art, died prior to the year 1424; but both Vaſari and Baldinucci inform us, that the Finiguerra in queſtion was contemporary with Pollajuolo, who was only born in 1426. It is ſingular that this judicious author did not reflect how ſlight that evidence muſt be which reſts merely on a ſimilarity of name, particularly in Florence, where, for the ſake of diſtinction, it was often neceſſary to reſort to the patronymics for ſeveral generations. *v. Vaſari, vite de' Pittori, paſſim. Baldinucci comminciamento e progreſſo dell' arte dell' intagliare in Rame. Fir.* 1686. *Heineken Idée générale d'une Collection complette d'Eſtampes, &c.*

(*a*) The collection of antiques formed by Lorenzo is thus celebrated by a contemporary author:

Cælatum argento, vel fulvo quidquid in auro eſt
Ædibus hoc, LAURENS, vidimus eſſe tuis,
Praxitelis, Phœnicis, Ariſtonis, atque Myronis
Fingere tam doctæ quod potuere manus
Cunachus, aut Mentor, Pythias, vel uterque Polycles
Lyſippus quidquid, Callimachuſque dedit.
Quæ collegiſti miro virtutis amore
Magnanimum reddunt nomen ubique tuum.
Artificum monumenta foves, referuntur in auro
Argento, tabulis, & lapide ora Deûm.

F. Camerlini, ap. Band. Cat. Bibl. Laur. v. iii. *p.* 545.

admiration, and bear upon ſome conſpicuous part the name of their former proprietor, thus expreſſed LAVR. MED. (*a*). Nor is it improbable that Michel-

(*a*) Theſe letters appear on a cameo in onyx of different colors, repreſenting the entry of Noah and his family into the ark, of which an engraving is given by Gori in his edition of the life of Michelagnolo by Condivi. Among the gems or cameos of this deſcription, of which I have met with impreſſions, or *geſſi*, are thoſe of Diomed with the palladium, or a large oval cameo, in which the letters LAUR. MED. are engraved on the ſide of the rock or ſtone on which he ſits — A centaur, with the letters engraved on the exergue — Dædalus fixing on the wings of Icarus; the inſcription is on the pedeſtal upon which Icarus ſtands, extending his wings over the upper part of the piece; and laſtly, the celebrated gem repreſenting Apollo and Marſyas, of which I ſhall tranſcribe a more particular account from the excellent work of Mr. Tenhove. " La gravure antique qui ſervait de cachet " à Laurent, & qui appartient encore au Grand-Duc de Toſcane, eſt " un morceau accompli. Les ſuffrages qu'elle a mérités dans tous les " tems, ſont ſuffiſamment atteſtés par cette foule de copies qui en " ont été faites dans les tems anciens & modernes. Apollon dans " une attitude noble tient ſa lyre, & regarde avec dédain Marſyas, " qui, les mains liées derrière le dos, & attaché à un arbre, attend " la juſte punition de ſa témérité. Le jeune Scythe qui doit exécuter " la ſentence, eſt à genoux aux pieds d'Apollon, & ſemble implorer " ſa clémence. Le carquois & les fléches du Dieu ſont ſuſpendus " à une des branches de l'arbre, & ſur la terraſſe ſont les flûtes qui " ont ſi mal ſervi le Satyre. Cette même pierre montée en bague avait " autrefois décoré la main parricide de Néron; ce monſtre était dans " l'uſage d'en ſceller ſes ſanguinaires reſcrits. On ſçait qu'il eut la " folie de s'eſtimer le premier muſicien de ſon tems, & par le choix " qu'il fit de ce ſujet il voulut ſans doute écarter les concurrens, & " intimider ceux qui oſeraient entrer en lice avec lui. Peut-être même " regarda-t'il ſa main gauche & prit-il Apollon pour modèle, lorſqu'il " fit fouetter juſqu'au ſang & écorcher, pour ainſi dire, ce chanteur " Menedème dont il était jaloux, & dont les hurlemens mêmes lui " parurent ſi mélodieux, qu'il ne pût s'empêcher d'y applaudir avec

agnolo, who paſſed among theſe treaſures a conſiderable portion of his time, was indebted to the liberality of Lorenzo for the beautiful Intaglio which he is ſuppoſed to have worn as his ſeal (*a*).

The protection and encouragement afforded by Lorenzo to every other branch of art, was not with-held from this his favorite department. From the early part of the fifteenth century, ſome ſpecimens of the aſtoniſhing proficiency of the ancients in works of this nature had occaſionally been diſcovered; and as the public taſte improved, they were ſought for with avidity, and only to be purchaſed at conſiderable prices. In the pontificate of Martin V. and again in that of Paul II. ſome attempts had been made to rival, or at leaſt to imitate, theſe productions, but the firſt artiſt whoſe name ſtands recorded in modern times, is Giovanni delle Corniuole, ſo called from his having generally exerciſed his ſkill upon the ſtone called a Cornelian. The muſeum of Lorenzo de' Medici was the ſchool in which he ſtudied. The proficiency he made correſponded to the

" tranſport.—Les vûes de Laurent étaient un peu plus raiſonnables, " ſans doute il ne choiſit cette pierre qu' à cauſe de la beauté merveil- " leuſe du travail."

(*a*) Chiaro documento ſi ha, che uno degli eſtimatori è raccoglitori intelligenti de' più prezioſi avanzi dell' erudita antichità, e di gioie intagliate da eccellenti Maeſtri greci, e di medaglie, e di altre ſimili rarità, fu il Mag. Lorenzo, per tale celebrato, e riconoſciuto dall' inſigne Ezec. Spanemio nella Diſs. i. *De præſtan & uſu Numiſm. antiquor.* Nè è maraviglia ſe Michelagnolo potè acquiſtare la ſtupendiſſima gemma annulare, la quale paſſò poi nelle mani e nel teſoro del re Criſtianiſſimo; e forſe ch' anch' eſſo altre sì fatte rarità averà acquiſtate de' più eccellenti artefici greci.

Gori. Notiz. Storic. ſopra la vita di Michelagn. di Condivi, p. 101.

advantages which he poſſeſſed, and anſwered the purpoſes which his liberal patron had in view. The numerous pieces of his workmanſhip in various ſizes, and on various materials, were the admiration of all Italy. One of his moſt celebrated productions was the portrait of Savonarola, who was then in the meridian of his popularity at Florence. Giovanni immediately met with a formidable competitor in a Milaneſe, who alſo loſt the name of his family in that of his art, and was called Domenico de' Camei. The likeneſs of Lodovico Sforza, engraved by Domenico in a large onyx, was conſidered as the moſt extraordinary ſpecimen of modern ſkill. By theſe maſters, and their ſcholars, this elegant, but unobtruſive branch of the fine arts kept pace with its more oſtentatious competitors; and even in the moſt flouriſhing period of their elevation, under the pontificate of Leo X. the eye that had contemplated the divine ſculptures of Michelagnolo, or had dwelt with delight on the paintings of Raffaello, or of Titian, might have turned with pleaſure to the labors of Valerio Vicentino, or of Giovanni Bologneſe, which compreſſed into the narroweſt bounds the accurate repreſentations of beauty, ſtrength, or grace, and gave to the moſt ineſtimable productions of nature the higheſt perfection of art.

CHAP. X.

LORENZO de' MEDICI intends to retire from public life—Is taken sick and removes to Careggi—His conduct in his last sickness—Interview with Pico and Politiano—Savonarola visits him--Death of Lorenzo—His character—Review of his conduct as a statesman—Attachment of the Florentines to him—Circumstances attending his death—Testimonies of respect to his memory—Death of Innocent VIII. and accession of Alexander VI.—Irruption of the French into Italy—Expulsion of the Medici from Florence—Death of Ermolao Barbaro—Of Pico of Mirandula—Of Agnolo Politiano—Absurd accounts respecting the death of Politiano—His monody on Lorenzo—Politiano celebrated by Cardinal Bembo—Authentic account of his death—Disturbances excited by Savonorola—Adherents of the Medici decapitated--Disgrace and execution of Savonarola—Death of Piero de' Medici—His character--Sonnet of Piero de' Medici-Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici—Restoration of the family to Florence—Elevation of Leo X.—Leo promotes his relations—Restores his dominions to peace—Rise of the reformation—Age of Leo X.—The Laurentian Library restored—Giuliano de' Medici duke of Nemours—Ippolito de' Medici—Lorenzo de' Medici duke of Urbino—Alessandro de' Medici—Descendants of Lorenzo de' Medici the brother of Cosmo—Giovanni de' Medici—Lorenzo de' Medici—Alessandro assumes the sovereignty of Florence—Is assassinated by Lorenzino—Motives and consequences of the attempt—Cosmo de' Medici first grand duke—Death of Filippo Strozzi, and final extinction of the republic—Conclusion.

THAT love of leiſure which is inſeparable from a mind conſcious of its own reſources, and the conſideration of his declinining ſtate of health, were probably the motives that induced Lorenzo de' Medici to aim at introducing his two elder ſons into public life at ſo early and almoſt premature an age. The infirmities under which he labored not only diſqualified him at times from attending with his accuſtomed vigilance to the affairs of the republic, but rendered it alſo neceſſary for him often to abſent himſelf from Florence, and to paſs ſome portion of his time at the warm baths in various parts of Italy, of which thoſe of Siena and Porrettana, afforded him the moſt effectual relief. At thoſe ſeaſons which were not embittered by ſickneſs, he appears to have flattered himſelf with the expectation of enjoying the reward of his public labors, and partaking of the general happineſs which he had ſo eſſentially contributed to promote, in a peaceful and dignified retirement, enlivened by ſocial amuſements, by philoſophic ſtudies, and literary purſuits. Theſe expectations were built upon the moſt ſubſtantial foundation, the conſciouſneſs that he had diſcharged his more immediate duties and engagements; but his feelings on this occaſion are beſt expreſſed in his own words (*a*): "What," ſays he, "can be more deſirable to a well-regulated mind, "than the enjoyment of leiſure with dignity? This

(*a*) *Ap. Fabr. in vitâ Laur. v.* I. *p.* 196.

" is what all good men wiſh to obtain, but which " great men alone accompliſh. In the midſt of public " affairs we may indeed be allowed to look forwards " to a day of reſt; but no reſt ſhould totally ſeclude " us from an attention to the concerns of our country. " I cannot deny that the path which it has been my " lot to tread has been arduous and rugged, full of " dangers, and beſet with treachery; but I conſole " myſelf in having contributed to the welfare of my " country, the proſperity of which may now rival " that of any other ſtate, however flouriſhing. Nor " have I been inattentive to the intereſts and advance- " ment of my own family, having always propoſed " to my imitation the example of my grandfather " Coſmo, who watched over his public and private " concerns with equal vigilance. Having now obtain- " ed the object of my cares, I truſt I may be allowed " to enjoy the ſweets of leiſure, to ſhare the reputa- " tion of my fellow-citizens, and to exult in the glory " of my native place." His intentions were more explicitly made known to his faithful companion Politiano, who relates, that ſitting with him in his chamber a few days before his death, converſing on ſubjects of letters and philoſophy, he then told him that he meant to withdraw himſelf as much as poſſible from the tumult of the city, and to devote the remainder of his days to the ſociety of his learned friends; at the ſame time expreſſing his confidence in the abilities of his ſon Piero, on whom it was his intention that the conduct of the affairs of the republic ſhould principally devolve (*a*).

(*a*) *Polit. Ep. lib.* iv. *Ep.* 2. But Guicciardini informs us that

The proſpect of relaxation and happineſs he was not however deſtined to realize. Early in the year 1492, the complaint under which he labored attacked him with additional violence, and whilſt the attention of his phyſicians was employed in adminiſtering relief, he contracted a ſlow fever which eſcaped their obſervation, or eluded their ſkill, until it was too late effectually to oppoſe its progreſs. The laſt illneſs of Lorenzo de' Medici, like that of moſt other great men, is repreſented as being extraordinary in its nature. Politiano deſcribes his diſorder as a fever, of all others the moſt inſidious, proceeding by inſenſible degrees, not like other fevers, by the veins or arteries, but attacking the limbs, the inteſtines, the nerves, and deſtroying the very principle of life. On the firſt approach of this dangerous complaint he had removed from Florence to his houſe at Careggi, where his moments were enlivened by the ſociety of his friends, and the reſpectful attentions of his fellow-citizens. For medical advice, his chief reliance was upon the celebrated Pier Leoni of Spoleto, whom he had frequently conſulted on the ſtate of his health; but as the diſorder increaſed, further aſſiſtance was ſought for, and Lazaro da Ticino, another phyſician, arrived at Careggi. It ſeems to have been the opinion of Politiano that the advice of Lazaro was too late reſorted to; but if we may judge from the nature of

Lorenzo was well aware of the real character of his ſon, " e ſi era " ſpeſſo lamentato, con li amici più intimi, che l'imprudenza ed " arroganza del figliuolo, partorirebbe la rovina della ſua caſa."

Guic. Hiſt. lib. i.

the medicines employed by him, he rather contributed to accelerate than to avert the fatal moment. The mixture of amalgamated pearls and jewels, with the moſt expenſive potions, might indeed ſerve to aſtoniſh the attendants, and to ſcreen the ignorance of the phyſician, but were not likely to be attended with any beneficial effect on the patient. Whether it was in conſequence of this treatment, or from the nature of the diſorder itſelf, a ſudden and unexpected alteration ſoon took place; and whilſt his friends relied with confidence on the exertions made in his behalf, he ſunk at once into ſuch a ſtate of debility as totally precluded all hopes of his recovery, and left him only the care of preparing to meet his doom in a manner conſiſtent with the eminence of his character, and the general tenor of his life.

Notwithſtanding the diverſity of occupations which had ſucceſſively engaged his attention, and the levity, not to ſay licentiouſneſs, of ſome of his writings, the mind of Lorenzo had always been deeply ſuſceptible of religious impreſſions. This appears not only from his attention to the eſtabliſhment and reform of monaſtic houſes (*a*), but from his *laudi*, or hymns, many of which breathe a ſpirit of devotion nearly bordering on enthuſiaſm. During his laſt ſickneſs, this feature of his character became more prominent; nor did he judge it expedient, or perhaps think it excuſable, to ſeparate the eſſential from the ceremonial part of religion. Having therefore performed the offices of the church with peculiar fervor, and adjuſted with ſincerity and decorum his ſpiritual

(*a*) Of this ſeveral inſtances are given by his hiſtorian Valori, *p.* 58, *&c.*

concerns, he requeſted a private interview with his ſon Piero, with whom he held a long and intereſting converſation on the ſtate of the republic, the ſituation of his family, and the conduct which it would be expedient for Piero to purſue. Of the precepts which he thought it neceſſary to inculcate on his ſucceſſor, we derive ſome information from Politiano, which was probably obtained from the relation of his pupil (*a*). "I doubt not," ſaid Lorenzo, "that you "will hereafter poſſeſs the ſame weight and authority "in the ſtate which I have hitherto enjoyed; but as "the republic, although it form but one body, has "many heads, you muſt not expect that it will be "poſſible for you on all occaſions ſo to conduct your- "ſelf as to obtain the approbation of every individu- "al. Remember, therefore, in every ſituation to pur- "ſue that courſe of conduct which ſtrict integrity "preſcribes, and conſult the intereſts of the whole

(*b*) The circumſtances preceding and attending the death of Lorenzo are minutely related by Politiano in a letter to Jacopo Antiquario, *lib.* iv. *Ep.* 2. upon the authority of which I have principally relied, as will be ſeen, without troubling the reader with continual references, by adverting to the letter in the Appendix, *No.* LXXVII. Fabroni has incorporated this letter in the body of his work, as both the narrative and the evidence of the facts it relates; but as Politiano has mingled with much authentic information many inſtances of that ſuperſtition which infected the age, and has, perhaps, ſhown too unlimited a partiality to the family of his patrons, I have thought it incumbent on me to ſeparate, according to the beſt of my judgment, the documents of hiſtory from the dreams of the nurſery, and the repreſentations of truth from the encomiums of the friend, leaving my reader to conſult the original, and to adopt as much more of the account as he may think fit.

" community, rather than the gratification of a part." Theſe admonitions, if attended to, might have preſerved Piero from the ruin which the neglect of them ſoon brought down, and may yet ſerve as a leſſon to thoſe whoſe authority reſts, as all authority muſt finally reſt, on public opinion. The dutiful and patient attendance of Piero on his father during his ſickneſs was however a pledge to Lorenzo that his laſt inſtructions would not be forgotten, and, by confirming the favorable ſentiments which he appears to have entertained of the talents and the diſpoſition of his ſon, ſerved at leaſt to alleviate the anxiety which he muſt have felt on reſigning, thus prematurely, the direction of ſuch a vaſt and rapid machine into young and inexperienced hands.

At this intereſting period, when the mind of Lorenzo, relieved from the weight of its important concerns, became moreſenſibly alive to the emotions of friendſhip, Politiano entered his chamber. Lorenzo no ſooner heard his voice than he called on him to approach, and, raiſing his languid arms, claſped the hands of Politiano in his own, at the ſame time ſtedfaſtly regarding him with a placid, and even a cheerful countenance. Deeply affected at this ſilent but unequivocal proof of eſteem, Politiano could not ſuppreſs his feelings, but, turning his head aſide, attempted as much as poſſible to conceal his ſobs and his tears. Perceiving his agitation, Lorenzo ſtill continued to graſp his hand, as if intending to ſpeak to him when his paſſion had ſubſided, but finding him unable to reſiſt its impulſe, he ſlowly, and as it were unintentionally relaxed his hold, and Politiano, haſtening into an inner apartment, flung himſelf on a

bed, and gave way to his grief. Having at length compoſed himſelf, he returned into the chamber, when Lorenzo again called to him, and inquired with great kindneſs why Pico of Mirandula had not once paid him a viſit during his ſickneſs. Politiano apologized for his friend, by aſſuring Lorenzo that he had only been deterred by the apprehenſion that his preſence might be troubleſome. "On the con- "trary," replied Lorenzo, "if his journey from the "city be not troubleſome to him, I ſhall rejoice to "ſee him before I take my final leave of you." Pico accordingly came, and ſeated himſelf at the ſide of Lorenzo, whilſt Politiano, reclining on the bed, near the knees of his revered benefactor, as if to prevent any extraordinary exertion of his declining voice, prepared for the laſt time to ſhare in the pleaſures of his converſation. After excuſing himſelf to Pico for the taſk he had impoſed upon him, Lorenzo expreſſed his eſteem for him in the moſt affectionate terms, profeſſing that he ſhould meet his death with more cheerfulneſs after this laſt interview. He then changed the ſubject to more familiar and lively topics, and it was on this occaſion that he expreſſed, not without ſome degree of jocularity, his wiſhes that he could have obtained a reprieve, until he could have completed the library deſtined to the uſe of his auditors. This interview was ſcarcely terminated when a viſitor of a very different character arrived. This was the haughty and enthuſiaſtic Savonarola, who probably thought, that in the laſt moments of agitation and of ſuffering, he might be enabled to collect materials for his factious purpoſes.

With apparent charity and kindneſs, the prieſt exhorted Lorenzo to remain firm in the catholic faith; to which Lorenzo profeſſed his ſtrict adherence. He then required an avowal of his intention, in caſe of his recovery, to live a virtuous and well-regulated life; to this he alſo ſignified his ſincere aſſent. Laſtly he reminded him, that, if needful, he ought to bear his death with fortitude. "With cheerfulneſs," replied Lorenzo, "if ſuch be the will of God." On his quitting the room, Lorenzo called him back, and as an unequivocal mark that he harboured in his boſom no reſentment againſt him for the injuries which he had received, requeſted the prieſt would beſtow upon him his benediction; with which he inſtantly complied, Lorenzo making the uſual reſponſes with a firm and collected voice (*a*).

(*a*) In the life of Savonarola, written in Latin, at conſiderable length, by Giovanfranceſco Pico prince of Mirandula, nephew of the celebrated Pico whom we have had occaſion ſo frequently to mention, an account is given of this interview, which differs in its moſt eſſential particulars from that which is above related. If we may credit this narrative, Lorenzo, when at the point of death, ſent to requeſt the attendance of Savonarola, to whom he was deſirous of making his confeſſion. Savonarola accordingly came, but, before he would conſent to receive him as a penitent, required that he ſhould declare his adherence to the true faith; to which Lorenzo aſſented. He then inſiſted on a promiſe from Lorenzo, that if he had unjuſtly obtained the property of others, he would return it. Lorenzo, after a ſhort heſitation, replied, "Doubtleſs, father, I "ſhall do this, or, if it be not in my power, I ſhall enjoin it as a duty upon "my heirs." Thirdly, Savonarola required that he ſhould reſtore the republic to liberty, and eſtabliſh it in its former ſtate of independence; to which Lorenzo not chuſing to make any reply, the prieſt left him without giving him his abſolution. *Savonar. vita, inter vit. ſelect. viror. op. Bates. Lond.* 1704. A ſtory that exhibits evident ſymptoms of

No

No ſpecies of reputation is ſo cheaply acquired as that derived from death-bed fortitude. When it is fruitleſs to contend, and impoſſible to fly, little applauſe is due to that reſignation which patiently awaits its doom. It is not therefore to be conſidered as enhancing that dignity of character which Lorenzo had ſo frequently diſplayed, that he ſuſtained the laſt conflict with equanimity. "To judge from "his conduct, and of his ſervants," ſays Politiano, "you would have thought that it was they who "momentarily expected that fate, from which he "alone appeared to be exempt." Even to the laſt the ſcintillations of his former vivacity were perceptible. Being aſked, on taking a morſel of food how he reliſhed it, "As a dying man always does," was his reply. Having affectionately embraced his ſurrounding friends, and ſubmitted to the laſt ceremonies of the church, he became abſorbed in meditation, occaſionally repeating portions of ſcripture, and accompanying his ejaculations with elevated eyes, and ſolemn geſtures of his hands, till the energies of life gradually declining, and preſſing to his lips a magnificent crucifix, he calmly expired.

In the height of his reputation, and at a premature period of life, thus died Lorenzo de' Medici; a man who may be ſelected from all the characters of ancient and modern hiſtory, as exhibiting the moſt remarkable inſtance of depth of penetration, ver-

that party-ſpirit which did not ariſe in Florence until after the death of Lorenzo, and which, being contradictory to the account left by Politiano, written before the motives for miſrepreſentation exiſted, is only rendered deſerving of notice by the neceſſity of its refutation.

ſatility of talent, and comprehenſion of mind (*a*). Whether genius be a predominating impulſe, directing the mind to ſome particular object, or whether it be an energy of intellect that arrives at excellence in any department in which it may be employed, it is certain that there are few inſtances in which, a ſucceſsful exertion in any human purſuit has not occaſioned a dereliction of many other objects, the attainment of which might have conferred immortality. If the powers of the mind are to bear down all obſtacles that oppoſe their progreſs, it ſeems neceſſary that they ſhould ſweep along in ſome certain courſe, and in one collected maſs. What then ſhall we think of that rich fountain which, whilſt it was poured out by ſo many different channels, flowed through each with a full and equal ſtream? To be abſorbed in one purſuit, however important, is not the characteriſtic of the higher claſs of genius, which, piercing through the various combinations, and relations of ſurrounding circumſtances, ſees all things in their juſt dimenſions and attributes to each its due. Of the various occupations in which Lorenzo engaged, there is not one in which he was not eminently ſucceſsful; but he was moſt particularly diſtinguiſhed in thoſe which juſtly hold the firſt rank in human eſtima-

(*a*) "Soyons avares," ſays M. Tenhove, "du titre ſacré de grand "homme, prodigué ſi ſouvent & ſi ridiculement aux plus minces per- "ſonnages, mais ne le refuſons point à Laurent de Medicis. Malheur "à l'ame froide & mal organiſée, qui ne ſentirait pas ſon extrême "mérite! On peut en toute ſûreté s'eſtimer de ſon admiration pour "lui." *Mém. Gén. liv.* xi. *p.* 146.

tion. The facility with which he turned from ſubjects of the higheſt importance to thoſe of amuſement and levity, ſuggeſted to his countrymen the idea that he had two diſtinct ſouls combined in one body. Even his moral character ſeems to have partaken in ſome degree of the ſame diverſity, and his devotional poems are as ardent as his lighter pieces are licentious. On all ſides he touched the extremes of human character, and the powers of his mind were only bounded by that impenetrable circle which preſcribes the limits of human nature.

As a ſtateſman, Lorenzo de' Medici appears to peculiar advantage. Uniformly employed in ſecuring the peace and promoting the happineſs of his country by juſt regulations at home, and wiſe precautions abroad, and teaching to the ſurrounding governments thoſe important leſſons of political ſcience, on which the civilization and tranquillity of nations have ſince been found to depend. Though poſſeſſed of undoubted talents for military exploits, and of ſagacity to avail himſelf of the imbecility of neighbouring powers, he was ſuperior to that avarice of dominion which, without improving what is already acquired, blindly aims at more extenſive poſſeſſions. The wars in which he engaged were for ſecurity, not for territory; and the riches produced by the fertility of the ſoil, and the induſtry and ingenuity of the inhabitants of the Florentine republic, inſtead of being diſſipated in impoſing projects and ruinous expeditions, circulated in their natural channels, giving happineſs to the individual, and reſpectability to the ſtate. If he was not inſenſible to the charms

of ambition, it was the ambition to deſerve rather than to enjoy; and he was always cautious not to exact from the public favor more than it might be voluntarily willing to beſtow. The approximating ſuppreſſion of the liberties of Florence, under the influence of his deſcendants, may induce ſuſpicions unfavorable to his patriotiſm; but it will be difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to diſcover, either in his conduct or his precepts, any thing that ought to ſtigmatize him as an enemy to the freedom of his country. The authority which he exerciſed was the ſame as that which his anceſtors had enjoyed, without injury to the republic, for nearly a century, and had deſcended to him as inſeparable from the wealth, the reſpectability, and the powerful foreign connexions of his family. The ſuperiority of his talents enabled him to avail himſelf of theſe advantages with irreſiſtible effect; but hiſtory ſuggeſts not an inſtance in which they were devoted to any other purpoſe than that of promoting the honor and the independence of the Tuſcan ſtate. It was not by the continuance, but by the dereliction of the ſyſtem that he had eſtabliſhed, and to which he adhered to the cloſe of his life, that the Florentine republic ſunk under the degrading yoke of deſpotic power; and to his premature death we may unqueſtionably attribute, not only the deſtruction of the commonwealth, but all the calamities that Italy ſoon afterwards ſuſtained.

The ſympathies of mind, like the laws of chemical affinity, are uniform. Great talents attract admiration, the offering of the underſtanding; but the qualities of the heart can alone excite affection, the

offering of the heart. If we may judge of Lorenzo de' Medici by the ardor with which his friends and contemporaries have expreſſed their attachment, we ſhall form concluſions highly favorable to his ſenſibility and his ſocial virtues. The exaction of thoſe attentions uſually paid to rank and to power, he left to ſuch as had no other claims to reſpect; he rather choſe to be conſidered as the friend and the equal, than as the dictator of his fellow-citizens. His urbanity extended to the loweſt ranks of ſociety; and while he enlivened the city of Florence by magnificent ſpectacles and amuſing repreſentations, he partook of them himſelf with a reliſh that ſet the example of feſtivity. It was the general opinion in Florence, that whoever was favored by Lorenzo could not fail of ſucceſs. Valori relates, that in the repreſentation of an engagement on horſeback, one of the combatants, who was ſuppoſed to contend under the patronage of Lorenzo, being overpowered and wounded, avowed his reſolution to die rather than ſubmit to his adverſary, and it was not without difficulty that he was reſcued from the danger, to receive from the bounty of Lorenzo the reward of his well-meant though miſtaken fidelity.

The death of Lorenzo, which happened on the eighth day of April 1492, was no ſooner known at Florence than a general alarm and conſternation ſpread throughout he city, and the inhabitants gave way to the moſt unbounded expreſſions of grief. Even thoſe who were not friendly to the Medici lamented in this misfortune the proſpect of the evils to come. The agitation of the public mind was

increaſed by a ſingular coincidence of calamitous events, which the ſuperſtition of the people conſidered as portentous of approaching commotions. The phyſician, Pier Leoni, whoſe preſcriptions had failed of ſucceſs, being apprized of the reſult, left Careggi in a ſtate of diſtraction, and precipitated himſelf into a well in the ſuburbs of the city (*a*). Two days preceding the death of Lorenzo, the great dome of the *Reparata* was ſtruck with lightning, and on the ſide which approached towards the chapel of the Medici, a part of the building fell. It was

(*a*) Whether Leoni died a voluntary death has been doubted. The enemies of the Medici, who upon the death of Lorenzo began to meditate the ruin of his family, have accuſed Piero his ſon with the perpetration of the deed, and this opinion is openly avowed by Giacopo Sanazaro in an Italian poem in *terza Rima*, in which he has imitated Dante with great ſucceſs, *v. App. No.* LXXVIII. But I muſt obſerve, that this poem bears internal evidence of its having been written after the Medici were driven from Florence, when their enemies were laboring by every poſſible means to render them odious. On the other hand, beſides the teſtimony of Politiano that Leoni accelerated his own death, we have that of Petrus Crinitus (Piero Ricci), a contemporary author, who, in his treatiſe *De honeſtæ diſciplina*, has a chapter *De homin bus qui ſe ipſos in puteum jaciant*, in which he thus adverts to the death of Leoni: "Sed enim quod nuper accidit in Petro Leonio, "mirificum certe viſum eſt; quando is, & in philoſophia vir excellens, "ac prudentia propé egregia, in puteum ſe Florentino ſuburbano "immerſit." *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 9. This circumſtance is alſo related by Valerianus. *De infel. literatorum, lib.* i. It appears, however, from an account of the death of Lorenzo, published by Fabroni, from a MS. diary of an anonymous Florentine author yet preſerved in the Magliabethi library, *Cod.* xvii. *Claſs.* 25. that Leoni entertained apprehenſions for his ſafety from the attendants of Lorenzo, who, without juſt cauſe, ſuſpected that he had occaſioned his death by poiſon. I ſhall give the extract from this diary in the Appendix, *No.* LXXIX.

alſo obſerved that one of the golden *palle* or balls, in the emblazonment of the Medicean arms, was at the ſame time ſtruck out. For three nights, gleams of light were ſaid to have been perceived proceeding from the hill of Fieſole, and hovering above the church of S. Lorenzo, where the remains of the family were depoſited. Beſides theſe incidents, founded perhaps on ſome caſual occurrence, and only rendered extraordinary by the workings of a heated imagination, many others of a ſimilar kind are related by contemporary authors, which, whilſt they exemplify that credulity which characterizes the human race in every age, may at laſt ſerve to ſhow that the event to which they were ſuppoſed to allude was conceived to be of ſuch magnitude as to occaſion a deviation from the ordinary courſe of nature (*a*). From Careggi the body of Lorenzo was conveyed to the church of his patron ſaint, amidſt the tears and lamentations of all ranks of people, who bewailed the loſs of their faithful protector, the glory of their city, the companion of their amuſements, their common father and friend. His obſequies were without oſtentation, he having a ſhort time before his death given expreſs directions to

(*a*) *Ficinus in fine Plotini. Flor.* 1492. *Ammir. lib.* xxvi. *v.* iii. *p.* 186. Even Machiavelli, an author ſeldom accuſed of ſuperſtition, ſeems on this occaſion to concede his incredulity to the general opinion. "Nè morì mai alcuno, non ſolamente in Firenze, ma in Italia, con "tanta fama di prudenza, nè che tanto alla ſua patria doleſſe. E come "dalla ſua morte ne doveſſe nafcere grandiſſime rovine, ne moſtrò il "cielo molti evidentiſſimi ſegni, &c." *Hiſt. lib.* viii. This author concludes his celebrated hiſtory, as Guicciardini begins, with the higheſt eulogium on the character of Lorenzo.

that effect. Not a tomb or an inſcription marks the place that received his aſhes; but the ſtranger, who, ſmitten with the love of letters and of arts, wanders amidſt the ſplendid monuments erected to the chiefs of this illuſtrious family, the work of Michelagnolo and of his powerful competitors, whilſt he looks in vain for that inſcribed with the name of Lorenzo, will be reminded of his glory by them all.

Throughout the reſt of Italy the death of Lorenzo was regarded as a public calamity of the moſt alarming kind. Of the arch which ſupported the political fabric of that country he had long been conſidered as the centre, and his loſs ſeemed to threaten the whole with immediate deſtruction. When Ferdinand, king of Naples, was informed of this event, he exclaimed, "this man has lived long enough for "his own glory, but too ſhort a time for Italy (*a*)." Such of the Italian potentates as were more nearly connected with the Medici ſent ambaſſadors to Florence on this occaſion. Letters of condolance were tranſmitted to Piero from almoſt all the ſovereigns of Europe. Many diſtinguiſhed individuals alſo paid this laſt tribute to the memory of their friend and benefactor (*b*). Among theſe communications, dictated by flattery, by friendſhip, and by political motives, there is one of a more intereſting nature.

(*a*) "Satis ſibi vir immortalitate digniſſimus vixit, ſed parum Italiæ. "Utinam ne quis eo ſublato, moliatur, quæ vivo, tentare auſus non fuiſſet." In which Ferdinand was ſuppoſed to allude to Lod. Sforza. *Fabr. vita Laur. v.* i. *p.* 212.

(*b*) Theſe letters, forming a collection in two volumes, are yet preſerved in *MS.* in the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, *Filz.* xxv. *No.* xv.

This is a letter from the young cardinal Giovanni de' Medici to his elder brother, written four days after the death of their father, which evinces that the cardinal was not without apprehenſions from the temper and diſpoſition of Piero, and does equal honor to his prudence and to his filial piety.

The Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, at Rome, to Piero de' Medici, at Florence.

" My deareſt brother, now the only ſupport of " our family; what I have to communicate to thee, " except my tears, I know not; for when I reflect " on the loſs we have ſuſtained in the death of our " father, I am more inclined to weep than to relate " my ſorrow. What a father have we loſt! How " indulgent to his children! Wonder not then that " I grieve, that I lament, that I find no reſt. Yet, " my brother, I have ſome conſolation in reflecting " that I have thee, whom I ſhall always regard in " the place of a father. Do thou command — I ſhall " cheerfully obey. Thy injunctions will give me " more pleaſure than I can expreſs — order me — " put me to the teſt, there is nothing that ſhall pre- " vent my compliance. Allow me however, my " Piero, to expreſs my hopes, that in thy conduct " to all, and particularly to thoſe around thee, I " may find thee as I could wiſh — beneficent, liberal, " affable, humane; by which qualities there is " nothing but may be obtained, nothing but may " be preſerved. Think not that I mention this from " any doubt that I entertain of thee, but becauſe " I eſteem it to be my duty. Many things ſtrengthen

" and conſole me; the concourſe of people that " ſurround our houſe with lamentations, the ſad " and ſorrowful appearance of the whole city, the " public mourning, and other ſimilar circum- " ſtances, theſe in a great degree alleviate my grief; " but that which relieves me more than all the reſt, " is, that I have thee, my brother, in whom I place " a confidence that no words can deſcribe, &c. *Ex* " *urbe*, *die* 12*th Ap.* 1492 (*a*)."

The common mediator of Italy being now no more, the ſame intereſted and unenlightened motives which had ſo often rendered that country the ſeat of treachery and of bloodſhed again began to operate, and the ambitious views of the different ſovereigns became the more dangerous as they were the more concealed. Such was the confidence which they had placed in Lorenzo, that not a meaſure of importance was determined on by any of them without its being previouſly communicated to him, when, if he thought it likely to prove hoſtile to the general tranquillity, he was enabled either to prevent its execution, or at leaſt to obviate its ill effects; but upon his death a general ſuſpicion of each other took place, and laid the foundation of the unhappy conſequences that ſoon afterwards enſued. The impending evils of Italy were accelerated by the death of Innocent VIII. who ſurvived Lorenzo only a few months, and ſtill more by the elevation to the pontificate of Roderigo Borgia, the ſcourge of Chriſtendom, and the opprobrium of the human race (*b*).

(*a*) For the original, *v. App. No.* LXXX.

(*b*) A ſtriking inſtance of the influence which Lorenzo had obtained

Piero de' Medici, on whom the eyes and expectations of the public were turned, gave early indications that he was unable to ſuſtain the weight that had devolved upon him. Elated with the authority derived from his father, but forgetting the admonitions by which it was accompanied, he relaxed the reins that controlled all Italy, to graſp at the ſupreme dominion of his native place. For this purpoſe he ſecretly formed a more intimate connexion with the king of Naples and the pope, which being diſcovered by the penetrating eye of Lodovico Sforza, raiſed in him a ſpirit of jealouſy, which the profeſſions and aſſurances of Piero could never allay. An interval of diſſatisfaction, negotiation, and diſtruſt took place, till at length the ſolicitations of Lodovico and the ambition of Charles VIII. brought into Italy a more formidable and warlike race, whoſe arrival ſpread a general terror and alarm, and convinced, too late, the ſtates and ſovereigns of that country of the folly of their

over the mind of Innocent VIII. appears from one of his unpublished letters preſerved in the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence (*Filz.* lix. *No.* xiv), dated the 16th day of June 1488, from which we collect, that the pope had tranſmitted to him the liſt of an intended promotion of cardinals, which Lorenzo returns, informing him that he approves of the nomination of ſuch of them whoſe names he has marked with a pen, and exhorting him to carry his intentions with reſpect to them into execution, concluding his letter with reminding the pope *chè ſi può conſolare ancor lui, ſe ne ricordi.* In fact, the aſſumption of Giovanni de' Medici to the purple took place early in the following year; and as Innocent VIII. only made one promotion of cardinals during his pontificate, it appears that Lorenzo had ſufficient addreſs to procure the name of his ſon, who was then only thirteen years of age, to be included in the liſt.

mutual diſſenſions. Even Lodovico himſelf, who in the expectation of weakening his rivals, and of veſting in himſelf the government of Milan, had inceſſantly labored to accompliſh this object, no ſooner ſaw its approach than he ſhrunk from it in terror; and whilſt he was obliged, for the ſake of conſiſtency, to perſevere in exhorting Charles to proceed in his enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of Naples, he endeavoured by ſecret emiſſaries to excite againſt him the moſt formidable oppoſition of the Italian powers. Lodovico having for this purpoſe diſpatched an envoy to Florence, Piero conceived that he had obtained a favorable opportunity of convincing the king of France of the inſincerity of his pretended ally, and thereby of deterring him from the further proſecution of his undertaking; but however laudable his purpoſe might be, the means which he adopted for its accompliſhment reflect but little credit on his talents. In the palace of the Medici was an apartment which communicated with the gardens by a ſecret door, conſtructed by Lorenzo de' Medici for the purpoſe of convenience and retirement. In this room, Piero, pretending to be ſick, contrived an interview with the agent of Lodovico, whilſt the envoy of Charles VIII. ſecreted behind the door, was privy to their converſation (*a*). Whether Piero had not the addreſs to engage the Milaneſe ſufficiently to develope the views of his maſter, or whether the French envoy found the Italian politicians equally undeſerving of confidence, reſts only on conjecture;

(*a*) *Oricell. de bello Ital. p.* 24.

but the communication of this incident to Charles tended not in the ſlighteſt degree to avert the impending calamity. On the contrary, the conduct of Piero being made known to Lodovico, rendered any further communication between them impoſſible, and by preventing that union of the Italian ſtates, which alone could have oppoſed with effect the further progreſs of the French arms, facilitated an enterpriſe that could owe its ſucceſs only to the miſconduct of its opponents (*a*).

This unfortunate event led the way to another incident more immediately deſtructive to the credit and authority of Piero de' Medici. Charles, at the head of his troops, had, without reſiſtance, reached the confines of the Florentine ſtate, and had attacked the town of Sarzana, which Lorenzo, after having recovered it from the Genoeſe, had ſtrongly fortified. The approach of ſuch a formidable body of men, the reputation they had acquired, and the atrocities they had committed in their progreſs, could not fail of exciting great conſternation in Florence, where the citizens began freely to expreſs their diſſatisfaction with Piero de' Medici, who they aſſerted had, by his raſh and intemperate meaſures, provoked the reſentment of a powerful ſovereign, and endangered the very exiſtence of the republic. This criſis ſuggeſted to Piero the ſituation in which his father ſtood, when, in order to terminate a war which threatened him with deſtruction, he had haſtened to Naples, and, placing himſelf in the power of an avowed enemy, had returned to Florence with the credentials

(*a*) *Guicciard. Hiſt. d'Italia, lib.* i.

of peace (*a*). The preſent ſeaſon appeared to him favorable for a ſimilar attempt; but, as Guicciardini judiciouſly obſerves, it is dangerous to guide ourſelves by precedent, unleſs the caſes be exactly alike; unleſs the attempt be conducted with equal prudence, and, above all, unleſs it be attended with the ſame good fortune (*b*). The impetuoſity of Piero prevented him from obſerving theſe diſtinctions — haſtening to the French camp, he threw himſelf at the feet of Charles, who received his ſubmiſſion with coldneſs and diſdain (*c*). Finding his entreaties ineffectual, he became laviſh in his offers to promote the intereſts of the king, and, as a pledge of his fidelity, propoſed to deliver up to him not only the important fortreſs of Sarzana, which had till then ſucceſsfully reſiſted his attacks, but alſo the town of Pietra Santa, and the cities of Piſa and Leghorn, Charles at the ſame time undertaking to reſtore them, when he had accompliſhed his conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples (*d*). The temerity of Piero in

(*a*) *v. ante, Vol.* I. *p.* 224.

(*b*) *Guicciard. Hiſt. d'Italia, lib.* i.

(*c*) *Oricell. de bello Ital. p.* 39.

(*d*) The French were themſelves aſtonished at the prodigality of Piero, and the facility with which he delivered into their hands places of ſo much importance. " Ceux qui traitoyent avec Pierre," ſays P. " de Commines, m'ont compté, & à pluſieurs autres l'ont dit, en ſe " raillant & moquant de lui, qu'ils étoient ébahis comme ſi tot accordia " ſi grand choſe, & à quoi ils ne s'attendoient point." *Mém. de Commines, liv.* vii. *p.* 198. The day after Piero had entered into his unfortunate treaty, Lodovico Sforza arrived at the French camp, when Piero, who was not at open enmity with him, excuſed himſelf for not having met him on the road, becauſe Lodovico had miſſed his

provoking the reſentment of Charles, added to his inability to ward off, and his puſillanimity in reſiſting the blow, completed what his ambition and his arrogance had begun, and for ever deprived him of the reſpect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. On his return to Florence, after this diſgraceful compromiſe, he was refuſed admittance into the palace of the magiſtrates, and, finding that the people at large were ſo highly exaſperated againſt him as to endanger his perſonal ſafety, he haſtily withdrew himſelf from his native place, and retreated to Venice (*a*).

way. " It is true enough," ſaid Lodovico, " that one of us has loſt " his way, but perhaps it may prove to be yourſelf." *Guic. lib.* i.

(*a*) Condivi relates an extraordinary ſtory reſpecting Piero de' Medici, communicated to him by Michelagnolo, who had it ſeems formed an intimacy with one Cardiere, an improvviſatore, that frequented the houſe of Lorenzo, and amuſed his evenings with ſinging to the lute. Soon after the death of Lorenzo, Cardiere informed Michelagnolo, that Lorenzo had appeared to him, habited only in a black and ragged mantle thrown over his naked limbs, and had ordered him to acquaint Piero de' Medici, that he would in a ſhort time be baniſhed from Florence. Cardiere, who ſeems judiciously to have feared the reſentment of the living more than that of the dead, declined the office; but ſoon afterwards Lorenzo entering his chamber at midnight, awoke him, and reproaching him with his inattention, gave him a violent blow on the cheek. Having communicated this ſecond viſit to his friend, who adviſed him no longer to delay his errand, he ſet out for Carreggi, where Piero then reſided, but meeting him with his attendants about midway between that place and Florence, he there delivered his meſſage, to the great amuſement of Piero and his followers; one of whom, Bernardo Divizio, afterwards Cardinal da Bibbiena, ſarcaſtically asked him, *Whether, if Lorenzo had been deſirous of giving information to his ſon, it was likely he would have preferred ſuch a meſſenger to a perſonal communication?* The biographer adds, with great ſolemnity, " La viſion del Cardiere, o deluſion diabolica, o

The diſtreſs and devaſtation which the inhabitants of Italy experienced for a ſeries of years after this event, have afforded a ſubject upon which their hiſtorians have dwelt with melancholy accuracy. Amidſt theſe diſaſters, there is perhaps no circumſtance that ſo forcibly excites the regret of the friends of letters, as the plundering of the palace of the Medici, and the diſperſion of that invaluable library, whoſe origin and progreſs have before been traced. The French troops that had entered the city of Florence without oppoſition, led the way to this ſacrilegious deed, in the perpetration of which they were joined by the Florentines themſelves, who openly carried off, or ſecretly purloined, whatever they could diſcover that was intereſting, rare, or valuable. Beſides the numerous manuſcripts in almoſt every language, the depredators ſeized, with contentious avidity, the many ineſtimable ſpecimens of the arts with which the houſe of the Medici abounded, and which had long rendered it the admiration of ſtrangers, and the chief ornament of the city. Exquiſite pieces of ancient ſculpture, vaſes, cameos, and gems of various kinds, more eſtimable for their workmanſhip than for their native value, ſhared in the general ruin; and all that the aſſiduity and the riches

" predizion divina, o forte immaginazione, ch' ella ſi foſſe, ſi verificò."—But the awful ſpectre is now before me---I ſee the terrified muſician ſtart from his ſlumbers; his left hand graſps his beloved lyre, whilſt, with his right thrown over his head, he attempts to ſhroud himſelf from the looks of Lorenzo, who, with a countenance more in ſorrow than in anger, points out to him his deſtined miſſion. To realize this ſcene ſo as to give it intereſt and effect, required the glowing imagination and the animated pencil of a FUSELI.

of

of Lorenzo and his anceſtors had been able to accumulate in half a century, was diſſipated or demoliſhed in a day (*a*).

The ſame reverſe of fortune that overwhelmed the political labors of Lorenzo, that rendered his deſcendants fugitives, and diſperſed his effects, ſeemed to extend to his friends and aſſociates, almoſt all of whom unhappily periſhed within a ſhort interval after his death, although in the common courſe of

(*a*) The deſtruction of this invaluable collection is pathetically related by Bernardo Ruccellai. "Hic me ſtudium charitaſque litterarum "antiquitatis admonet, ut non poſſim non deplorare inter ſubitas "fundatiſſimæ familiæ ruinas, Mediceam bibliothecam, inſigneſque "theſauros, quorum pars a Gallis, pars a paucis e noſtris, rem tur-"piſſimam honeſta ſpecie prætendentibus, furaciſſime ſubrepta ſunt. "Nam cum jam pridem gens Medicea floreret omnibus copiis, terra, "marique cuncta exquirere, dum ſibi Græcarum, Latinarumque lit-"terarum monumenta, toreumata, gemmas, margaritas, aliaque "hujuſcemodi opera, natura ſimul & antiquo artificio conſpicua com-"pararent," &c. "Teſtimonio ſunt litteræ gemmis ipſis inciſæ, Lan-"rentii nomen præferentes, quas ille ſibi familiæque ſuæ proſpiciens "ſcalpendas curavit, futurum ad poſteros regii ſplendoris monumen-"tum," &c. "Hæc omnia magno conquiſita ſtudio, ſummiſque parta "opibus, & ad multum ævi in deliciis habita, quibus nihil nobilius, "nihil Florentiæ quod magis viſendum putaretur, uno puncto temporis "in prædam ceſſere; tanta Gallorum avaritia, perfidiaque noſtrorum "fuit." *De bello Ital. p.* 52, *&c.* This event is alſo commemorated by P. de Commines, who, with true Gothic ſimplicity, relates the number, weight, and ſaleable value of the articles of which the palace of the Medici was plundered. The antique vaſes he denominates, "beaux pots d'agate---& tant de beaux camayeux, bien taillés que "merveilles (qu' autrefois j'avois veus) & bien trois mille medales "d'or & d'argent, bien la peſanteur de quarante livres; & croi qu'il "n'y avoit point autant de belles medales en Italie. Ce qu'il perdit "ce jour en la cité valoit cent mille ecus & plus."

Mém. de Com. lir. vii. *c.* 9.

nature they might have expected a longer life. The firſt of theſe eminent men was Ermolao Barbaro, of whoſe friendly intercourſe with Lorenzo many teſtimonies remain, and who died of the plague in the year 1493, when only thirty-nine years of age (*a*).

(*a*) The life and learned labors of Ermolao have afforded a ſubject of much diſcuſſion to Voſſius, Bayle, and others, and have been conſidered with particular accuracy by Apoſtolo Zeno, *Diſſert. Voſs. v.* ii. *p.* 348. *& ſeq.* His firſt work was a treatiſe *De Cœlibatu*, which he wrote at eighteen years of age. His *Caſtigationes Plinianæ* entitle him to rank with the moſt ſucceſsful reſtorers of learning. Politiano denominates him, *Hermolaus Barbarus barbariæ hoſtis acerrimus. Miſcel. cap.* xc. Being on an embaſſy to Rome in the year 1491, Innocent VIII. conferred on him the high dignity of Patriarch of Aquileja, which he accepted without regarding the decree of the Venetian government, which directed that none of their miniſters at the court of Rome ſhould receive any eccleſiaſtical preferment without the conſent of the council. His father, who held the ſecond office in the ſtate, is ſaid to have died of chagrin, becauſe he could not prevail upon his countrymen to approve the preferment of his ſon. ButErmolao availed himſelf of his diſmiſſion from public buſineſs, to return with greater earneſtneſs to this ſtudies, and in two years wrote more than he had done for twenty years preceding. In his laſt ſickneſs at Rome, Pico of Mirandula ſent him a remedy for the cure of the plague, compoſed of the oil of ſcorpions, the tongues of aſps, &c. "Ut "nihil fieri poſſet contra peſtilentem morbum commodius aut preſen-"tius." *Crin. de honeſt. diſcip. lib.* i. *c.* 7. But this grand panacea arrived too late. "Egli non è da tacerſi," ſays Apoſtolo Zeno, "un "gran fregio di queſto valente uomo, ed è, che viſſe, e morì *vergine.*" Which information is confirmed by the authority of Piero Dolfini, who, in a letter to Ugolino Verini, aſſerts, QUOD ABSQUE ULLA CARNIS CONTAGIONE VIXERIT. *Diſs. Voſs.* ii. *p.* 385. A very particular account of the manners and perſon of Ermolao is given in a letter from Piero de' Medici to his father Lorenzo, then abſent at the baths of Vignone, from which it appears, that he had paid a viſit to Florence, and was received there with great honor as the friend of Lorenzo.

App. No. LXXXI.

This event was ſucceeded by the death of Pico of Mirandula, who in his thirty-ſecond year fell a victim to his avidity for ſcience, and has left poſterity to regret that he turned his aſtoniſhing acquiſitions to ſo little account. Nor did Politiano long ſurvive his great patron. He died at Florence on the twenty-fourth day of September 1494, when he had juſt completed his fortieth year.

It is painful to reflect on the propenſity which has appeared in all ages to ſully the moſt illuſtrious characters by the imputation of the moſt degrading crimes. Jovius, with apparent gravity, informs us, that Politiano, having entertained a criminal paſſion for one of his pupils, died in the paroxyſm of an amorous fever, whilſt he was ſinging his praiſes on the lute (*a*); and this prepoſterous tale has been repeated, with ſingular variations, by many ſubſequent writers. To attempt a ſerious refutation of ſo abſurd a charge would be an uſeleſs undertaking; but it may not be unintereſting to inquire by what circumſtances it was firſt ſuggeſted; as it may ſerve to ſhow on how ſlight a foundation detraction can erect her ſuperſtructure. On the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Politiano attempted to pour forth his grief in the following monody to his memory, which,

(*a*) Ferunt eum ingenui adoleſcentis inſano amore percitum, facile in letalem morbum incidiſſe. Correpta enim citharâ, quum eo incendio, & rapida febre torreretur, ſupremi furoris carmina decantavit; ita, ut mox delirantem, vox ipſa & digitorum nervi, & vitalis denique ſpiritus, inverecunda urgente morte, deſererent: quum maturando judicio integræ ſtatæque ætatis anni, non ſine gravi Muſarum injuria, doloreque ſeculi, feſtinante fato eriperentur. *Jovii. Elog. cap.* xxxviii.

although left in an unfiniſhed ſtate, and not to be ranked in point of compoſition with many of his other writings, is ſtrongly expreſſive of the anguiſh and agitation of his mind:

Monodia in Laurentium Medicem.

Quis dabit capiti meo
Aquam? quis oculis meis
Fontem lachrymarum dabit?
Ut nocte fleam,
Ut luce fleam.
Sic turtur viduus ſolet;
Sic cygnus moriens ſolet;
Sic luſcinia conqueri.
Heu miſer, miſer;
O dolor, dolor.
— LAURUS impetu fulminis
Illa illa jacet ſubito;
LAURUS omnium celebris
Muſarum choris,
Nympharum choris,
Sub cujus patula coma,
Et Phœbi lyra blandius
Et vox dulcius inſonat.
Nunc muta omnia,
Nunc ſurda omnia.
— Quis dabit capiti meo
Aquam? quis oculis meis
Fontem lachrymarum dabit?
Ut nocte fleam,
Ut luce fleam.
Sic turtur viduus ſolet;

Sic cygnus moriens folet;
Sic luſcinia conqueri.
Heu miſer, miſer;
O dolor, dolor.

Who from perennial ſtreams ſhall bring
Of guſhing floods a ceaſeleſs ſpring?
That through the day in hopeleſs woe,
That through the night my tears may flow.
As the reft turtle mourns his mate,
As ſings the ſwan his coming fate,
As the ſad nightingale complains,
I pour my anguiſh and my ſtrains.
Ah wretched, wretched paſt relief,
O grief, beyond all other grief.

—Through heaven the gleamy lightning flies,
And prone on earth my LAUREL lies:
That laurel, boaſt of many a tongue,
Whoſes praiſes every muſe has ſung,
Which every dryad of the grove,
And all the tuneful ſiſters love.
That laurel, that erewhile diſplayed
Its ample honors; in whoſe ſhade
To louder notes was ſtrung the lyre,
And ſweeter ſang th' Aonian quire,
Now ſilent, ſilent all around,
And deaf the ear that drank the ſound.

—Who from perennial ſtreams ſhall bring,
Of guſhing floods a ceaſeleſs ſpring?
That through the day in hopeleſs woe,
That through the night my tears may flow.

As the reft turtle mourns his mate,
As ſings the ſwan his coming fate,
As the ſad nightingale complains,
I pour my anguiſh aud my ſtrains.
Ah wretched, wretched paſt relief,
O grief, beyond all other grief,

Such was the object of the affections of Politiano, and ſuch the amorous effuſion, in the midſt of which he was intercepted by the hand of death; yet if we advert to the charges which have been brought againſt him we ſhall find that they are chiefly, if not wholly, to be attributed to a miſrepreſentation, or perverſion, of theſe lines. Of thoſe who, after Jovius have repeated the accuſation, one author informs us, that the verſes which Politiano addreſſed to the object of his love were ſo tender and impaſſioned, that he expired juſt as he had finiſhed the ſecond couplet (*a*). Another relates that in the frenzy of a fever he had eluded the vigilance of his guard, and eſcaping from his bed, ſeized his lute, and began to play upon it under the window of a young Greek of whom he was enamoured, whence he was brought back by his friends, half dead, and expired in his

(*a*) *Varillas, Anecdotes de Florence, lib.* iv. *p.* 196. "La paſſion "criminelle qu'il avoit pour un de ſes écoliers de haute qualité, ne "pouvant être aſſouvie, lui donna la fièvre chaude. Dans la violence "de l'accès, il fit une chanſon pour l'objet dont il étoit charmé, ſe "leva du lit, prit un luth, & ſe mit à la chanter ſur un air ſi tendre, "& ſi pitoyable, qu'il expira en achevant *le ſecond couplet;* le même "jour que Charles VIII. paſſa les Alpes pour aller à la conquête de "Naples." This author ſeems equally miſinformed as to the manner and the time of the death of Politiano.

bed ſoon afterwards (*a*). We are next informed, that in a fit of amorous impatience, he occaſioned his own death, by ſtriking his head againſt the wall (*b*): whilſt a fourth author aſſures us, that he was killed by a fall from the ſtairs, as he was ſinging to his lute an elegy which he had compoſed on the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (*c*). The contrariety of theſe relations, not one of which is ſupported by the ſlighteſt pretence to ſerious or authentic teſtimony, is itſelf a ſufficient proof of their futility. Some years after the death of Politiano, the celebrated cardinal Bembo, touched with the untimely fate of a man whom he was induced by a ſimilarity of taſte and character to love and admire, paid a tribute of gratitude and reſpect to his memory in a few elegiac verſes, in which, alluding to the unfiniſhed monody of Politiano, he repreſents him as ſinking under the ſtroke of fate, at the moment when, frantic with

(*a*) " Politien, ce bel eſprit, qui parloit ſi bien Latin, s'appeloit " Ange; mais il s'en falloit beaucoup qu'il en eut la pureté. La " paſſion honteuſe & l'abominable amour dont il brûloit pour un jeune " garçon, qui étoit Grec de naiſſance, à flétri à perpétuité ſa mémoire, " & cauſa ſa mort. Car étant tombé dans un fièvre chaude, il ſe leva " brufquement de ſon lit, la nuit, que ſa garde étoit endormie, prit le " luth à la main, & en alla jouer ſous la fenêtre du petit Grec. On " l'en retira à demi mort, & on le remporta dans ſon lit, où il expira " bientôt après," &c. *Ab. Faydit, Remarques ſur Virgile & ſur Homere, &c. Menck, in vitâ Pol. p.* 472.

(*b*) " Vulgo fertur," ſays Voſſius, *De Hiſt. Lat. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. " obiiſſe " Politianum fœdi amoris impatientia capite in parietem illiſo."

Ap. Menck. 470.

(*c*) *Bullart, Acad. des Hommes illuſtres, tom.* i. *p.* 278. " Politien— " tomba d'un eſcalier comme il chantoit ſur ſon luth une élégie, qu'il " avoit compoſée ſur la mort de Laurent de' Medicis."

excefs of grief, he was attempting, by the power of mufic, to revoke the fatal decree which had deprived him of his friend.

Politiani Tumulus.

Duceret extincto cum mors LAURENTE triumphum,
Lætaque pullatis inveheretur equis,
Reſpicit infano ferientem pollice chordas,
Viſcera ſingultu concutiente, virum.
Mirata eſt, tenuitque jugum: furit ipſe, pioque
LAURENTEM cunctos flagitat ore Deos.
Miſcebat precibus lachrymas, lachrymiſque dolorem;
Verba miniſtrabat liberiora dolor.
Riſit, & antiquæ non immemor illa querelæ,
Orphei Tartariæ cum patuere viæ,
Hic etiam infernas tentat reſcindere leges,
Fertque ſuas, dixit, in mea jura manus.
Protinus & flentem percuſſit dura poetam;
Rupit & in medio pectora docta ſono.
—Heu ſic tu raptus, ſic te mala fata tulerunt,
Arbiter Auſoniæ, POLITIANE, lyræ.

Whilſt borne in ſable ſtate, LORENZO's bier
The tyrant death, his proudeſt triumph, brings,
He mark'd a bard in agony ſevere,
Smite with delirious hand the ſounding ſtrings.
He ſtop'd—he gaz'd—the ſtorm of paſſion raged,
And prayers with tears were mingled, tears with grief;
For loſt LORENZO, war with fate he waged,
And every god was call'd to bring relief.
The tyrant ſmil'd—and mindful of the hour
When from the ſhades his conſort Orpheus led,

" Rebellious too wouldſt thou uſurp my power,
" And burſt the chain that binds the captive dead?"
He ſpoke—and ſpeaking launch'd the ſhaft of fate,
And clos'd the lips that glow'd with ſacred fire.
His timeleſs doom 'twas thus POLITIAN met—
POLITIAN, maſter of th'Auſonian lyre.

The fiction of the poet, that Politiano had incurred the reſentment of death by his affection for the object of his paſſion, ſuggeſts nothing more than that his death was occaſioned by ſorrow for the loſs of his friend; but the verſes of Bembo ſeem to have given a further pretext to the enemies of Politiano, who appear to have miſtaken the friend whom he has celebrated, for the object of an amorous paſſion, and to have interpreted theſe lines, ſo honorable to Politiano, in a manner, not only the moſt unfavorable to his character, but the moſt oppoſite to their real purport, and to the occaſion which gave them birth (*a*).

(*a*) " Nous ſavons maintenant la véritable mort de Politien, que " le Cardinal Bembe a déguiſée dans l'épitaphe qu'il lui a dreſſée. " Comme il chantoit ſur le luth au deſſus d'un eſcalier une chanſon " qu'il avoit faite autrefois pour une fille qu'il aimoit, lorſqu'il vint " à certains vers fort pathétiques, ſon luth lui tomba des mains, & lui " tomba auſſi de l'eſcalier en bas, & ſe rompit le col." *Pier. de S. Romuald, Abrégé du Tréſor Chronol. tom.* iii. *p.* 262. *ap. Menck. p.* 476. Theſe imputations on the moral character of Politiano have alſo been frequently adverted to by other authors: thus J. C. Scaliger,

" Obſcæno moreris ſed Politiane, furore,"

And in yet groſſer terms by Andrea Dati:

" Et ne te tenеam diutius, quot
" Pædicat pueros Politianus."

v. Menagiana. v. iv. *p.* 122.

From much more authentic documents which yet remain reſpecting the death of this eminent ſcholar, there is reaſon to conclude, that it was occaſioned by his grief for the loſs of his great patron, and by the ſubſequent misfortunes of a family with which he was connected by ſo many endearing ties. That he had incurred the public odium in a high degree, on account of his attachment to that family is alſo certain; and the mortification and anxiety which he on this account experienced, might contribute to accelerate the fatal event. It may alſo be obſerved, that his property was plundered during the commotions at Florence, and many of his works deſtroyed or loſt in the general devaſtation of the Laurentian Library; which incident made a deep impreſſion on his mind (*a*). In ſhort, ſuch was the ſudden tide of misfortune that burſt in upon him from all quarters, that it is probable his fortitude was unable to ſupport the ſhock; and, notwithſtanding his induſtry, his accompliſhments, and his unwearied exertions in promoting the progreſs of learning, to ſuch an extreme of miſery was he reduced, that he is too juſtly enumerated by Valerianus amongſt the unhappy children of ſcience, who have afforded examples for his ſingular work, *De infelicitate Literatorum.* But whatever was the immediate occaſion of his death, indiſputable evidence remains, that his misfortunes were not ſo much to

(*a*) This is ſufficiently apparent from the beautiful lines addreſſed to him by Tito Veſpaſiano Strozzi, published in the collection of the poems of the two Strozzi, father and ſon. by Aldo, 1513.

v. Appendix, No. LXXXII.

be attributed to his miſconduct or his immorality, as to his ſteady adherence to the family of the Medici, at a time when the public reſentment againſt them was excited to the higheſt pitch, and that he breathed his laſt in the midſt of his relatives and friends, having firſt expreſſed his deſire to be buried in the church of S. Marco, in the habit of the Domenican order. This requeſt was complied with by the piety of his pupil Roberto Ubaldini, one of the monks of the convent of S. Marco, who has left a memorial in his own hand-writing of the circumſtances attending his death (*a*). His remains were accordingly depoſited in the church of S. Marco, where his memory is preſerved in an epitaph very unworthy of his character and genius (*b*).

The various and diſcordant relations reſpecting the death of Politiano are happily adverted to by one of his countrymen in the following lines:

(*a*) The indefatigable Abate Mehus, in his life of Ambrogio Traverſari, firſt produced theſe documents, which the reader will find in the Appendix, *No.* LXXXIII.

(*b*) POLITIANUS.
IN. HOC. TUMULO. JACET.
ANGELUS. UNUM.
QUI. CAPUT. ET. LINGUAS.
RES. NOVA. TRES. HABUIT.
OBIIT. AN. MCCCCLXXXXIV.
SEP. XXIV. ÆTATIS.
XL.

Pamphili Saxi,

De morte Angeli Politiani.

Quo cecidit fato noſtri decus ANGELUS ævi,
  Gentis & Etruſcæ gloria, ſcire cupis?
Icterici non hunc labes triſtiſſima morbi.
  Febris ad Elyſias vel tulit atra domos;
Non inflans humor pectus, non horrida biliſ;
  Mortiferæ peſtis denique nulla lues:
Sed, quoniam rigidas ducebat montibus ornos,
  Frangebat ſcopulos, decipiebat aves,
Mulcebat tigres, fiſtebat flumina cantu,
  Plectra movens plectro dulcius Iſmario.
Non plus Threicium laudabunt Orphea gentes,
  Calliope dixit dixit: Apollo, Linum;
Jamque tacet noſtrum rupes Heliconia nomen—
  Et ſimul hunc gladio ſuppoſuere necis.
Mors tamen hæc illi vita eſt, nam gloria magna
  Invidiâ Phœbi Calliopeſque mori.

Aſk'ſt thou what cauſe conſign'd to early fate
POLITIAN, glory of the Tuſcan ſtate?
—Not loathſome jaundice tainting all the frame,
Not rapid fever's keen conſuming flame,
Not viſcous rheum that chokes the ſtruggling breath,
Nor any vulgar miniſter of death;
—'Twas that his ſong to life and motion charm'd
The mountain oaks, the rock's cold boſom warm'd,
Stay'd the prone flood, the tyger's rage control'd,
With ſweeter ſtrains than Orpheus knew of old.—
"Dimmed is the luſtre of my Grecian fame,"
Exclaim'd Calliope—"No more my name

" Meets even in Helicon its due regard,"
Apollo cry'd, and pierc'd the tuneful bard—
—Yet lives the bard in lasting fame approv'd,
Who Phœbus and the muse to envy mov'd.

The expulsion of Piero de' Medici from Florence, neither contributed to establish the tranquillity, nor to preserve the liberty of the republic. The inhabitants exulted for a time in the notion that they were freed from the tyranny of a family which had held them so long in subjection; but they soon discovered that it was necessary to supply its absence, by increasing the executive power of the state. Twenty citizens were accordingly chosen by the appellation of *Accopiatori*, who were invested, not only with the power of raising money, but also of electing the chief magistrates. This form of government met however with an early and formidable opposition; and to the violence of political dissensions, was soon superadded the madness of religious enthusiasm. The fanatic, Savonarola, having, by pretensions to immediate inspiration from God, and by harangues well calculated to impress the minds of the credulous, formed a powerful party, began to aim at political importance. Adopting the popular side of the question, he directed the whole torrent of his eloquence against the new mode of government; affirming, that he was divinely authorized to declare, that the legislative power ought to be extended to the citizens at large, that he had himself been the ambassador of the Florentines to heaven, and that Christ had

condeſcended to be their peculiar monarch (*a*). The exertions of Savonarola were ſucceſsful. The newly elected magiſtrates voluntarily abdicated their offices; and an effort was made to eſtabliſh the government on a more popular baſis, by veſting the legiſlative power of the ſtate in the *Conſiglio Maggiore*, or Council of the Citizens, and in a ſelect body, called the *Conſiglio degli Scelti*, or Select Council (*b*). The firſt of theſe was to be compoſed of at leaſt one thouſand citizens, who could derive their citizenſhip by deſcent, and were upwards of thirty years of age; the latter conſiſted of eighty members, who were elected half-yearly from the great council, and were upwards of forty years of age (*c*). Theſe regulations, inſtead of uniting the citizens in one common intereſt, gave riſe to new diſtinctions. The *Frateſchi*, or adherents of Savonarola, who were in general favorable to the liberty of the lower claſſes of the inhabitants, regarded the friar as the meſſenger of heaven, as the guide of their temporal and eternal happineſs; whilſt the *Compagnacci*, or adherents to a more ariſtocratical government, repreſented him as a factious impoſtor; and Alexander VI. ſeconded their cauſe by fulminating againſt him the anathemas of the church. Thus impelled by the moſt powerful

(*a*) *Nerli, Commentarj de' Fatti civili di Firenze, lib.* iv. *p.* 65. *Aug.* 1728.

(*b*) To this government Machiavelli alludes in his ſecond Decennale:

" E dopo qualche diſparer trovaſte,
" Nuov' ordine al governo, e furon tante,
" Che il voſtro ſtato popolar fondaſte."

(*c*) *Nerli, Comment. lib.* iv. *p.* 66, 67.

motives that can actuate the human mind, the citizens of Florence were seized with a temporary insanity. In the midst of their devotions, they frequently rushed in crowds from the church, to assemble in the public squares, crying *Viva Cristo*, singing hymns, and dancing in circles formed by a citizen and a friar, placed alternately (*a*). The hymns sung on these occasions were chiefly composed by Girolamo Benivieni, who appears to have held a distinguished rank amongst these disciples of fanaticism (*b*). The enemies of Savonarola were as immoderate in their opposition as his partisans were in their attachment. Even the children of the city were trained in opposite factions, and saluted each other with showers of pebbles; in which contests the gravest citizens were sometimes unable to resist the inclination of taking a part (*c*).

(*a*) *Nerli, Comment. lib.* iv. *p.* 75.

(*b*) Some of these compositions are preserved in the general collection of his poems. The following lines, which seem peculiarly adapted for such an occasion, may serve as a specimen:

" Non fu mai'l più bel solazzo,
" Più giocondo nè maggiore,
" Che per zelo, e per amore
" Di Jesu, diventar pazzo.
" Ognun gridi com' io grido,
" Sempre pazzo, pazzo, pazzo."

Op. di Beniv. p. 143.

(*c*) Era talvolta, predicando il frate, in sul bello della predica suonato tamburi, e fatti altri rumori per impedirlo; e molte volte gli fu nel venir da S. Marco a S. Liparata giù per la via del Cocomero, da' fanciulli de' suoi avversarj fatto baie fanciullesche, e da' fanciulli della sua parte era voluto defendere, dimanierachè, secondo il costume de' fanciulli Fiorentini, facevano a' sassi, e così combattendo facevano

Such was the ſtate of Florence in the year 1497, when Piero de' Medici, who had long waited for an opportunity of regaining his authority, entered into a negotiation with ſeveral of his adherents, who undertook, at an appointed hour, to admit him within the walls of the city, with the troops which he had obtained from the Venetian republic, and from his relations of the Orſini family. Piero did not however make his appearance till the opportunity of aſſiſting him was paſt. His abettors were diſcovered; five of them, of the chief families of Florence, were decapitated; the reſt were impriſoned or ſent into baniſhment. The perſons accuſed would have appealed from their judges to the *Conſiglio Grande*, according to a law which had lately been obtained by the influence of the *Frateſchi*; but that party, with Savonarola at their head, were clamorous for the execution of the delinquents, and in ſpite of the law which they had themſelves introduced, effected their purpoſe. Amongſt the five ſufferers was Lorenzo Tornabuoni, the maternal couſin of

infanciullire degli uomini gravi; perchè occorſe a M. Luca Corſini, benchè Dottore aſſai riputato, per favorire la parte del Frate meſcolarſi co' fanciulli a fare a' faſſi; e Giovanbattiſta Ridolfi, uno de' più riputati e ſavj cittadini che fuſſero a tempj ſuoi, poſta da canto la gravità, e quel grado che a un tale, e sì onorato cittadino ſi conveniva, preſe un giorno l'armi, e in ſu certa occaſione, per eſſere impedita al frate la predica intorno a S. Liparata, uſci dalla caſa de' Lorini vicina a quel tempio, quaſi infuriato, ſenza ſeguito alcuno, con una roncola in iſpalla, gridando, *Viva Criſto;* com' anche gridavano i fanciulli del Frate; e di queſte così fatte coſe ne ſeguivano ſpeſſo.

Nerli, Comment. lib. iv. *p.* 74.

Lorenzo

Lorenzo de' Medici, of whoſe accompliſhments Politiano has left a very favorable account, and to whom he has inſcribed his beautiful poem entitled *Ambra* (*a*).

The authority of Savonarola was now at its higheſt pitch. Inſtead of a republic, Florence aſſumed the appearance of a theocracy, of which Savonarola was the prophet, the legiſlator, and the judge (*b*). He perceived not however that he had arrived at the edge of the precipice, and that by one ſtep further he might incur his deſtruction. Amongſt the methods reſorted to by the opponents of Savonarola to weaken his authority, and to counteract his pretenſions, they had attacked him with his own weapons, and had excited two Franciſcan monks to declaim againſt him from the pulpit. Savonarola found it neceſſary to call in the aid of an aſſiſtant, for which purpoſe he ſelected Fra Domenico da Peſcia, a friar of his own convent of S. Marco. The conteſt was kept up by each of the contending parties with equal fury, till Domenico, tranſported with zeal for the intereſts of his maſter, propoſed to confirm the truth of his doctrines by walking through the flames, provided any of his adverſaries

(*a*) *v. ante, p.* 140.

(*b*) This fanatical party proceeded ſo far as even to ſtrike a coin on the occaſion, a ſpecimen of which in ſilver is preſerved in the collection of the Earl of Orford, to whoſe kind communications, ſince the firſt edition of this work, I have been greatly indebted. On one ſide is the Florentine device, or *fleur de lys*, with the motto, SENATUS POPULUSQUE FLORENTINUS; on the other, a croſs, with the motto, JESUS CHRISTUS REX NOSTER.

would ſubmit to a ſimilar teſt. By a ſingular coincidence, which is alone ſufficient to demonſtrate to what a degree the paſſions of the people were excited, a Franciſcan friar accepted the challenge, and profeſſed himſelf ready to proceed to the proof. The mode of trial became the ſubject of ſerious deliberation among the chief officers of the republic. Two deputies were elected on behalf of each of the parties, to arrange and ſuperintend this extraordinary conteſt. The combuſtibles were prepared, and over them was erected a ſcaffold, which afforded a commodious paſſage into the midſt of the flames. On the morning of the day appointed, being the ſeventeenth of April 1498, Savonarola and his champion made their appearance, with a numerous proceſſion of eccleſiaſtics, Savonarola himſelf intonating with a tremendous voice, the pſalm, *Exurgat Deus & diſſipentur inimici ejus.* His opponent, Fra Giuliano Rondinelli, attended by a few Franciſcan monks, came ſedately and ſilently to the place of trial; the flames were kindled, and the agitated ſpectators waited with impatience for the moment that ſhould renew the miracle of the Chaldean furnace. Savonarola finding that the Franciſcan was not to be deterred from the enterpriſe either by his vociferations, or by the ſight of the flames, was obliged to have recourſe to another expedient, and inſiſted that his champion Domenico, when he entered the fire, ſhould bear the hoſt along with him. This ſacrilegious propoſal ſhocked the whole aſſembly. The prelates who, together with the ſtate deputies, attended the trial, exclaimed againſt an experiment which might ſubject the

catholic faith to too ſevere a teſt, and bring a ſcandal upon their holy religion. Domenico however clung faſt to the twig which his patron had thrown out, and poſitively refuſed to encounter the flames without this ſacred taliſman. This expedient, whilſt it ſaved the life of the friar, ruined the credit of Savonarola. On his return to the convent of S. Marco, he was inſulted by the populace, who bitterly reproached him, that after having encouraged them to cry *Viva Criſto*, he ſhould impiouſly propoſe to commit him to the flames. Savonarola attempted to regain his authority by addreſſing them from the pulpit, but his enemies were too vigilant; ſeizing the opportunity of his diſgrace, they firſt attacked the houſe of Franceſco Valori, one of his moſt powerful partiſans, who, together with his wife, was ſacrificed to their fury. They then ſecured Savonarola, with his aſſociate Domenico, and another friar of the ſame convent, and dragged them to priſon. An aſſembly of eccleſiaſtics and ſeculars, directed by an emiſſary of Alexander VI. ſat in judgment upon them. The reſolution and eloquence of Savonarola, on his firſt interview, intimidated his judges, and it was not till recourſe was had to the implements of torture—the *ultima theologorum ratio*, that Savonarola betrayed his weakneſs, and acknowledged the fallacy of his pretenſions to ſupernatural powers. His condemnation inſtantly followed, and the unhappy prieſt, with his two attendants, were led to execution in the ſame place, and with the ſame apparatus, as had been prepared for the conteſt; where, being firſt ſtrangled, their

bodies were committed to the flames, and left the city ſhould be polluted by their remains, their aſhes were carefully gathered and thrown into the Arno (*a*).

From the time that Piero de' Medici quitted the city of Florence, he experienced a continual ſucceſſion of mortifications and diſappointments. Flattered, deſerted, encouraged, and betrayed, by the different potentates to whom he ſucceſſively applied for aſſiſtance, his proſpects became daily more unfavorable, and his return to Florence more improbable. In the mean time a new war had ariſen in Italy. Louis XII. the ſucceſſor of Charles VIII. after having, in conjunction with Ferdinand, king of Spain, accompliſhed the conqueſt of Naples, diſagreed with him in the partition of the ſpoil, and Italy became the theatre of their ſtruggle. On this occaſion Piero entered into the ſervice of the French, and was preſent at an engagement that took place between them and the Spaniards, on the banks of the Garigliano, in which they were defeated with great loſs. In effecting his eſcape, Piero attempted to paſs the river, but the boat in which he with ſeveral other men of rank had embarked, being laden with heavy cannon, ſunk in the midſt of the current and Piero miſerably periſhed, after having ſupported an exile of ten years. By his wife Alfonſina, he left a ſon named Lorenzo, and a daughter Clarice.

Few men have derived from nature greater

(*a*) *Nerli, Comment. lib.* iv. *p.* 78. *Savonarolæ vita, tom.* ii. *ſeu additiones. Par.* 1674, *paſſim.*

advantages, and perhaps never any one enjoyed a better opportunity of improving them, than Piero de' Medici. A robuſt form, a vigorous conſtitution, great perſonal ſtrength and activity, and a ſhare of talents beyond the common lot, were the endowments of his birth. To theſe was added a happy combination of external affairs, reſulting from the opulence and reſpectability of his family, the powerful alliances by which it was ſtrengthened, and the high reputation which his father had ſo deſervedly acquired. But theſe circumſtances, apparently ſo favorable to his ſucceſs, were preciſely the cauſes of his early ruin. Preſuming on his ſecurity, he ſuppoſed that his authority could not be ſhaken, nor his purpoſes defeated. Forgetting the advice ſo often repeated to him by his father, *to remember that he was only a citizen of Florence*, he neglected or diſdained to conciliate the affections of the people. His conduct was the exact reverſe of that which his anceſtors had ſo long and uniformly adopted, and was attended with the effects which might reaſonably be expected from a dereliction of thoſe maxims that had raiſed them to the honorable diſtinction which they had ſo long enjoyed.

A few poetical compoſitions of Piero de' Medici, preſerved in the Laurentian Library, though not hitherto printed, place his character in a more favorable point of view, and exhibit his filial affection and his attachment to his native place in a very intereſting light (*a*). Of this the following ſonnet may be a ſufficient proof:

(*a*) They conſiſt of twenty one ſonnets, which are found at the cloſe

SONETTO.

'Sendo io national, e di te nato,
Muovati patria un poco il tuo figliuolo;
Fingiti almen pietosa del suo duolo,
Essendo in te nudrito ed allevato.
Ha ciaschedun del nascimento il fato,
Come l'uccello il suo garrire e volo;
Scusemi almen in ciò non esser solo,
Benchè solo al mio male io pur sia stato.
E se può nulla in te mio antico affetto,
Per quella pietà ch'in te pur regna
Non mi sia questo dono da te disdetto:
—Ch' almen in cener nella patria io vegna,
A riposar col padre mio diletto.
Che già ti fe sì gloriosa e degna.

SONNET.

Thy offspring, FLORENCE, nurtur'd at thy breast,
Ah let me yet thy kind indulgence prove;
Or if thou own no more a parent's love,
Thy pity sure may sooth my woes to rest.
Fate marks to each his lot: the same behest
That taught the bird through fields of air to rove,
And tunes his song, my vital tissue wove
Of grief and care, with darkest hues impress.
But if, my fondness scorn'd, my prayer denied,
Death only bring the period of my woes,

of a manuscript volume of the poems of his father Lorenzo, *Plut.* xli. *Cod.* xxxviii. *No.* 3. Besides which Valerianus informs us, that he translated from Plutarch, a treatise on conjugal love; *Valer. de Lit. infel. lib.* ii.; but this performance has probably perished, there being no copy of it now to be found in the Laurentian Library.

Yet one dear hope ſhall mitigate my doom.
—If then my father's name was once thy pride,
Let my cold aſhes find at laſt repoſe,
Safe in the ſhelter of his honored tomb.

Of the many ties by which Lorenzo had endeavoured to ſecure the proſperity of his family amidſt the ſtorms of fortune, and the ebbs and flows of popular opinion, one only now remained—that by which he had connected it with the church; but this alone proved ſufficient for the purpoſe, and ſhows that in this, as in every other inſtance, his conduct was directed by motives of the ſoundeſt policy. After the expulſion of the family from Florence, the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, finding that the endeavours of himſelf and his brothers to effect their reſtoration were more likely to exaſperate the Florentines than to promote that deſirable event, deſiſted from any further attempts, and determined to wait with patience for a more favorable opportunity. He therefore quitted Italy, and, whilſt that country was the theatre of treachery and war, viſited many parts of France and Germany. His diſlike to Alexander VI. who had entered into an alliance with the Florentines, and was conſequently adverſe to the views of the exiles, was an additional motive for his abſence. After the death of Alexander in the year 1503, he returned to Rome, and found in Julius II. a pontiff more juſt to his talents, and more favorable to his hopes. From this time he began to take an important part in the public affairs of Italy, and was appointed legate in the war carried on by the pope,

the Venetians, and the king of Spain, againſt Louis XII. Whilſt inveſted with this dignity, he was taken priſoner by the French, in the famous battle of Ravenna, but ſoon afterwards found an opportunity of effecting his eſcape, not however without great danger and difficulty. In the mean time new diſſenſions had ſprung up at Florence, where the inhabitants, wearied with the fluctuations of a government, whoſe maxims and conduct were changed in the ſame rapid ſucceſſion as its chief magiſtrates, were at length obliged to ſeek for a greater degree of ſtability, by electing a *Gonfaloniere* for life. This authority was intruſted to Piero Soderini, who, with more integrity than ability, exerciſed it for nearly ten years. His contracted views ſuited not with the circumſtances of the times. The principal governments of Italy, with Julius at their head, had leagued together to free that country from the depredations of the French. Fearful of exciting the reſtleſs diſpoſitions of the Florentines, and perhaps of endangering the continuance of his power, the *Gonfaloniere* kept aloof from a cauſe, on the ſucceſs of which depended the tranquillity and independence of Italy. His reluctance to take an active part in the war was conſtrued into a ſecret partiality to the intereſts of the French; and, whilſt it rendered him odious to a great part of the citizens of Florence, drew upon him the reſentment of the allied powers. The victory obtained by the French at Ravenna, dearly purchaſed with the death of the gallant Gaſton de Foix, and the loſs of near ten thouſand men, proved the deſtruction of their enterpriſe; and as

the cauſe of the French declined, that of the Medici gained ground, as well in Florence, as in the reſt of Italy. The prudence and moderation of the cardinal enabled him to avail himſelf of theſe favorable diſpoſitions without prematurely anticipating the conſequences. During his reſidence at Rome he had paid a marked attention to the citizens of Florence who occaſionally reſorted there, without making any apparent diſtinction between thoſe who had eſpouſed and thoſe who had been adverſe to the cauſe of his family; and by his affability and hoſpitality, as well as by his attention to the intereſts of thoſe who ſtood in need of his ſervices, had acquired the good opinion of his fellow-citizens. Having thus prepared the way for his ſucceſs, he took the earlieſt opportunity of turning the arms of the allied powers againſt Florence, for the avowed purpoſe of removing Piero Soderini from his office, and reſtoring the Medici to their rights as citizens. On the part of Soderini little reſiſtance was made. The allies having ſucceeded in an attack upon the town of Prato, and the friends of the Medici having openly oppoſed the authority of Soderini, the tide of popular favor once more turned; and whilſt the *Gonfaloniere* with difficulty effected his eſcape, the cardinal made his entrance into his native place, accompanied by his younger brother Giuliano, his nephew Lorenzo, and his couſin Giulio de' Medici, the latter of whom had been his conſtant attendant during all the events of his public life (*a*).

(*a*) *Guicciar. Storia d'Italia, lib.* x. *Razzi, vita di Piero Soderini. Padova,* 1737, *p.* 70, *&c.*

The reſtoration of the Medici, although effected by an armed force, was not diſgraced by the bloodſhed of any of the citizens, and a few only of their avowed enemies were ordered to abſent themſelves from Florence. Scarcely was the tranquillity of the place reſtored when intelligence was received of the death of Julius II. The cardinal loſt no time in repairing to Rome, where, on the eleventh day of March 1513, being then only thirty-ſeven years of age, he was elected ſupreme head of the church, and aſſumed the name of Leo X. The high reputation which he had acquired not only counterbalanced any objections ariſing from his youth, but rendered his election a ſubject of general ſatisfaction; and the inhabitants of Florence, without adverting to the conſequences, exulted in an event which ſeemed likely to contribute not leſs to the ſecurity than to the honor of their country. The commencement of his pontificate was diſtinguiſhed by an act of clemency which ſeemed to realize the high expectations that had been formed of it. A general amneſty was publiſhed at Florence, and the baniſhed citizens reſtored to their country. Piero Soderini, who had taken refuge in Turkey, was invited by the pope to Rome, where he reſided many years under his protection, and enjoyed the ſociety and reſpect of the prelates and other men of eminence who frequented the court, being diſtinguiſhed during the remainder of his life by the honorable title of the *Gonfaloniere* (*a*).

(*a*) *Razzi, vita di Piero Soderini, p.* 85.

The elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate eſtabliſhed the fortunes of the Medici on a permanent foundation. Naturally munificent to all, Leo was laviſh in beſtowing upon the different branches of his own family the higheſt honors and moſt lucrative preferments of the church. Giulio de' Medici was created archbiſhop of Florence, and was ſoon afterwards admitted into the ſacred college, where he acquired ſuch influence, as to ſecure the pontifical chair, in which he ſucceeded Adrian VI. who filled it only ten months after the death of Leo. The daughters of Lorenzo, Maddalena, the wife of Franceſco Cibo, Conteſſina, the wife of Piero Ridolfi, and Lucrezia, the wife of Giacopo Salviati, gave no leſs than four cardinals to the Romiſh church; there being two of the family of Salviati, and one of each of the others. Profiting by the examples of his predeceſſors, Leo loſt no opportunity of aggrandizing his relations, well knowing that, in order to ſecure to them any laſting benefit, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be powerful enough to defend themſelves, after his death, from the rapacious aims of ſucceeding pontiffs, who, he was well aware, would probably pay as little regard to his family, as he had himſelf, in ſome inſtances, paid to the friends and families of his predeceſſors (*a*).

(*a*) Notwithſtanding his precautions, Leo could not, on all occaſions, preſerve his ſurviving relations from the inſults and injuries of his ſucceſſors. Paul III. Aleſſandro Farneſe, had in his youth been particularly favored by Lorenzo de' Medici, who, in a letter which yet remains from him to Lanfredini, his envoy at Rome, thus expreſſes

The pontificate of Leo X. is celebrated as one of the moſt proſperous in the annals of the Romiſh church. At the time when he aſſumed the chair, the calamities of Italy were at their higheſt pitch; that country being the theatre of a war, in which not only all its governments were engaged, but which was rendered yet more ſanguinary by the introduction of the French, Helvetian, and Spaniſh troops. A council, which had long eſtabliſhed itſelf at Piſa, under the influence and protection of the king of France, thwarted the meaſures, and at times overawed the authority of the holy ſee; and, in addition to all her other diſtreſſes, Italy labored under great apprehenſions from the Turks, who conſtantly threatened a deſcent on that unhappy country. The addreſs and perſeverance of Leo ſurmounted the difficulties which he had to encounter; and during his pontificate the papal dominions enjoyed a degree of tranquillity ſuperior to any other ſtate in Italy. In his relations with foreign powers, his conduct is no leſs entitled to approbation. During the conteſts that took place between thoſe powerful monarchs Charles V. and Francis I. he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his moderation, his

himſelf reſpecting him: "Vi lo raccommandiate quanto farei Pietro "mio figlio; e vi prego lo introduciate e lo raccommandiate caldiſſi- "mamente a N. S. (il papa) che non potreſte farmi maggior piacere," &c. Yet, when the ſame Aleſſandro had arrived at the pontificate, he ſo far forgot or diſregarded his early obligations, as forcibly to diſpoſſeſs Lucrezia, the daughter of his benefactor, then in a very advanced age, of her reſidence in Rome, to make way for one of his nephews. This incident is related by Varchi with proper indignation.

Storia Fiorentina, lib. xvi. *p.* 666.

vigilance, and his political addreſs; on which account he is juſtly celebrated by an eminent hiſtorian of our own country, as "the only prince of the age "who obſerved the motions of the two contending "monarchs with a prudent attention, or who diſ- "covered a proper ſolicitude for the public "ſafety (*a*).

Leo was not however aware, that whilſt he was compoſing the troubles which the ambition of his neighbours, or the miſconduct of his predeceſſors, had occaſioned, he was exciting a ſtill more formidable adverſary, that was deſtined, by a ſlow but certain progreſs, to ſap the foundations of the papal power, and to alienate that ſpiritual allegiance which the Chriſtian world had kept inviolate for ſo many centuries. Under the control of Leo, the riches that flowed from every part of Europe to Rome, as to the heart of the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, were again poured out through a thouſand channels, till the ſources became inadequate to the expenditure. To ſupply this deficiency, he availed himſelf of various expedients, which, whilſt they effected for a time the intended purpoſe, rouſed the attention of the people to the enormities and abuſes of the church, and in ſome meaſure drew aſide that ſacred veil, which, in ſhrouding her from the prying eyes of the vulgar, has always been her ſafeſt preſervative. The open ſale of diſpenſations and indulgences for the moſt enormous and diſgraceful crimes was too flagrant not to attract general notice. Encouraged by the diſſatisfaction which was thus excited,

(*a*) *Robertſon, Hiſt. of Cha.* V. *book* i.

a daring reformer arose, and, equally regardless of the threats of secular power, and the denunciations of the Roman see, ventured to oppose the opinion of an individual to the infallible determinations of the church. At this critical juncture, Luther found that support which he might in vain have sought at any other period, and an inroad was made into the sanctuary, which has ever since been widening, and will probably continue to widen, till the mighty fabric, the work of so many ages, shall be laid in ruins (*a*). It is not however so much for the tenets of their religious creed, as for the principles upon which they founded their dissent, that the reformers are entitled to the thanks of posterity. That right of private judgment which they claimed for themselves, they could not refuse to others; and by a mode of reasoning as simple as it was decisive, mankind arrived at the knowledge of one of those great truths which form the basis of human happiness. It appeared that the denunciations of the church were as ineffectual to condemn, as its absolution was to exculpate; and, instead of an intercourse between the man and his priest, an

(*a*) The causes and progress of the reformation are traced by Dr. Robertson, in his History of Charles the V. book ii. in a manner that would dispense with any further elucidation, even if it were more intimately connected with my subject. This celebrated historian has taken occasion to refute an assertion made by Guicciardini, and, after him, by Fr. Paolo, that Leo X. bestowed the profits arising from the sale of indulgences in Saxony, upon his sister Maddalena, the wife of Francesco Cibo. *Guicciar. lib.* iii. *Sarpi, Storia del Concil. Trident. cap.* i. *Robertson, Hist. Cha.* V. *book* ii. *in note.*

intercourſe took place between his conſcience and his God.

But turning from the advantages which the world has derived from the errors of Leo X. we may be allowed for a moment to inquire what it owes to his talents and to his virtues. No ſooner was he raiſed to the papal chair, than Rome aſſumed once more its ancient character, and became the ſeat of genius, magnificence, letters, and arts. One of the firſts acts of his pontificate was to invite to his court two of the moſt elegant Latin ſcholars that modern times have produced, Piero Bembo and Giacopo Sadoleti; on each of whom he conferred the rank of cardinal. The moſt celebrated profeſſors of literature from every part of Europe were induced by liberal penſions to fix their reſidence at Rome, where a permanent eſtabliſhment was formed for the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, under the direction of Giovanni Laſcar. The affability, the munificence the judgment, and the taſte of this ſplendid pontiff are celebrated by a conſiderable number of learned men, who witneſſed his accompliſhments, or partook of his bounty. Succeeding times have been equally diſpoſed to do juſtice to ſo eminent a patron of letters and have conſidered the age of Leo X. as rivalling that of Auguſtus. Leo has not however eſcaped the reproach of having been too laviſh of his favors to authors of inferior talents, and of having expended in pompous ſpectacles and theatrical repreſentations that wealth which ought to have been devoted to better purpoſes (*a*). But ſhall we condemn his con-

(*a*) *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* viii. *par.* i. *p.* 19. *Andres, orig. e progreſſi d'ogni Letteratura, v.* i. *p.* 380.

duct, if those who had no claims on his justice, were the objects of his bounty? or may it not be doubted whether this disposition was not more favorable to the promotion of letters, than a course of conduct more discriminating and severe? Whatever kindness he might show to those who endeavoured to amuse his leisure by their levity, their singularity, or their buffoonery, no instances can be produced of his having rewarded them by such distinguished favors as he constantly bestowed on real merit; and whilst we discover amongst those who shared his friendship and partook of his highest bounty, the names of Bembo, Vida, Ariosto, Sadoleti, Casa and Flaminio, we may readily excuse the effects of that superabundant kindness which rather marked the excess of his liberality than the imperfection of his judgment.

In the attention paid by Leo X. to the collecting and preserving ancient manuscripts, and other memorials of literature, he emulated the example of his father, and by his perseverance and liberality at length succeeded in restoring to its former splendor the celebrated library, which, on the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, had become a prey to the fury or the cupidity of the populace. Such of these valuable articles as had escaped the sacrilegious hands of the plunderers, had been seized upon for the use of the Florentine state; but in the year 1496, the public treasury being exhausted, and the city reduced to great extremity, the magistrates were under the necessity of selling them to the monks of the fraternity of S. Marco, for the sum of three thousand

ducats

ducats (*a*). Whilſt theſe valuable works were depoſited at the convent, they experienced a leſs public, but perhaps a more deſtructive calamity, many of them having been diſtributed as preſents by Savonarola, the principal of the monaſtery, to the cardinals, and other eminent men, by whoſe favor he fought to ſhelter himſelf from the reſentment of the pope (*b*). When the Florentines deſtroyed their golden calf, and the wretched prieſt expiated by his death his folly and his crimes, apprehenſions were entertained that the library of the Medici would once more be expoſed to the rapacity of the people; but ſome of the youth of the nobleſt families of Florence, with a laudable zeal for the preſervation of this monument of their national glory, aſſociated themſelves together, and undertook to guard it till the frenzy of the populace had again ſubſided (*c*). After the death of Savonarola, the fraternity having fallen into diſcredit, and being in their turn obliged to ſell the library, it was purchaſed from them by Leo X. then cardinal de' Medici, and in the year 1508

(*a*) Eodem anno libri heredem olim Petri Medicis a conventu noſtro trium millium Ducatorum pretio comparati, quos ſupra memoravimus in horrendo caſu noſtro, ex juſſo dominationis Florentinæ in palatium comportatos, & per inventarium reſignatos, menſe Octobri, in conventum hunc S. Marci revecti ſunt, novis ſtipulationibus factis, &c. *Maricani annal. part.* i. *ap. Mehus. Ambr. Travers. vita. p.* 72, *in præf.*

(*b*) Etiam de' libri di Piero de' Medici, i quali nella Libreria di S. Marco in buona parte ſi riduſſono, fece parte a cardinali, per cui mezzo delle ſcomuniche e altri proceſſi contragli ſi difendeva. Tanta forza avevano in Firenze le ſue arti. *MS. di Piero Parenti. cit. da Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* vi. *part.* i. *p.* 106.

(*c*) *Tirab. ut ſup.*

was removed by him to Rome, where it continued during his life, and received conſtant additions of the moſt rare and valuable manuſcripts. From Leo it devolved to his couſin Clement VII. who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, again transferred it to Florence, and by a bull, which bears date the fifteenth day of December 1532, provided for its future ſecurity. Not ſatisfied however with this precaution, he meditated a more ſubſtantial defence, and, with a munificence which confers honor on his pontificate, engaged Michelagnolo to form the deſign of the ſplendid edifice in which this library is now depoſited, which was afterwards finiſhed under the directions of the ſame artiſt, by his friend and ſcholar Vaſari.

Giuliano de' Medici, the third ſon of Lorenzo, was more diſtinguiſhed by his attention to the cauſe of literature, and by his mild and affable diſpoſition, than by his talents for political affairs. On the return of the family to Florence, he had been intruſted by his brother, then the cardinal de' Medici, with the direction of the Florentine ſtate; but it ſoon appeared that he had not ſufficient energy to control the jarring diſpoſitions of the Florentines. He therefore reſigned his authority to Lorenzo, the ſon of his brother Piero de' Medici, and on the elevation of Leo X. took up his reſidence at Rome; where under the title of captain general of the church, he held the chief command of the papal troops. By the favor of the pope he ſoon afterwards obtained extenſive poſſeſſions in Lombardy, and having intermarried with Filiberta, ſiſter of Charles duke

of Savoy, and a deſcendant of the houſe of Bourbon, was honored by Francis I. with the title of duke of Nemours. Of his gratitude, an inſtance is recorded which it would be unjuſt to his memory to omit. During his exile from Florence, he had found an hoſpitable aſylum with Guid' ubaldo di Montefeltro duke of Urbino, who on his death left his dominions to his adopted ſon, Franceſco Maria delle Rovere. Incited by the entreaties of his nephew Lorenzo, Leo X. formed the deſign of depriving Rovere of his poſſeſſions, under the uſual pretext of their having eſcheated to the church for want of legitimate heirs, and of veſting them in Lorenzo, with the title of duke of Urbino; but the repreſentations of Giuliano prevented for a time the execution of his purpoſe; and it was not till after his death that Leo diſgraced his pontificate by this ſignal inſtance of eccleſiaſtical rapacity. If we may give credit to Ammirato, Giuliano at one time entertained the ambitious hope of obtaining the crown of Naples (*a*); but if ſuch a deſign was in contemplation, it is probable that he was incited by his more enterpriſing and ambitious brother, who perhaps ſought to revive the claims of the papal ſee upon a kingdom, to the government of which Giuliano could, in his own right, advance no pretenſions. As a patron of learning, he ſupported the ancient dignity of his family. He is introduced to great advantage in the celebrated dialogue of Bembo on the Italian tongue (*b*), and in the yet more diſtinguiſhed work

(*a*) *Ammir. Iſt. Fior. lib.* xxix. *vol.* iii. *p.* 315.

(*b*) PROSE DI M. PIETRO BEMBO, NELLE QUALI SI RAGIONA DELLA

of Caſtiglione, entitled *Il libro dell Cortegiano* (*a*). *In* the Laurentian Library ſeveral of his ſonnets are yet preſerved (*b*); and ſome ſpecimens of his compoſition are adduced by Creſcimbeni, which, if they diſplay not any extraordinary ſpirit of poetry, ſufficiently prove, that, to a correct judgment, he united an elegant taſte (*c*).

Naturally of an infirm conſtitution, Giuliano did not long enjoy his honors. Finding his health on the decline, he removed to the monaſtery at Fieſole,

VOLGAR LINGUA; dedicated to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. firſt printed at Venice by *Giovan Tacuino, nel meſe di Settembre del* MDXXV. *cum privilegio di Papa Clemente, &c.*

(*a*) *In Venetia nelle caſe d'Aldo Romano, e d'Andrea d'Aſola ſuo ſuocero, nell' anno* MDXXVIII. *del meſe d'Aprile, in fol.* This work has frequently been reprinted under the more conciſe title of *Il Cortegiano*, by which it is alſo cited in the *Biblioteca Italiana* of Fontanini; but Apoſtolo Zeno, pleaſed with every opportunity of reproving the author whom he has undertaken to comment upon, ſhrewdly obſerves, in his notes on that work, "Altro è il dire ſemplicemente, "*il Cortegiano*, come il Fontanini vorrebbe; e altro, *Il libro del Corte-*"*giano*, come il Caſtiglione ha voluto dire, e lo ha detto: la prima-"maniera indicherebbe vi voler deſcrivere *il Cortegiano* per quello "che è; e la ſeconda dinota di volergli inſegnare qual eſſer deve."

Zeno, in not. alla Bib. Ital. di. Fontan. v. ii. *p.* 353.

(*b*) PLUT. xlvi. *Cod.* XXV. *No.* 3. Another copy of his poems remains in MS. in the Strozzi Library at Florence.

(*c*) *Creſcimb. Comment. v.* iii. *p.* 338. Where the author confounds Giuliano, the ſon of Lorenzo de' Medici, with Giuliano his brother, who loſt his life in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi: and even cites the authority of Politiano, "Che i verſi volgari di lui erano a maraviglia "gravi, e pieni di nobili ſentimenti," as referring to the writings of the younger Giuliano, although ſuch opinion was expreſſed by Politiano reſpecting the works of Giuliano the brother of Lorenzo, before Giuliano his ſon was born.

in the expectation of deriving advantage from his native air; but his hopes were fruſtrated, and he died there in the month of March 1516, not having then fully completed his thirty-ſeventh year. His death was ſincerely lamented by a great majority of the citizens of Florence, whoſe favor he had conciliated in a high degree by his affability, moderation, and inviolable regard to his promiſes (*a*). His tomb, in the ſacriſty of the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, one of the moſt ſucceſsful efforts of the genius of Michelagnolo, may compenſate him for the want

(*a*) Arioſto has addreſſed a beautiful canzone to Filiberta of Savoy, the widow of Giuliano, commencing, *Anima eletta, che nel mondo folle*, in which the shade of the departed husband apoſtrophizes his ſurviving wife. The following lines, referring to Lorenzo the Magnificent, may ſerve to show the high veneration in which the poet held his memory:

" Queſto ſopra ogni lume in te riſplende,
" Se ben quel tempo che sì ratto corſe,
" Teneſti di *Nemorſe*
" Meco ſcettro ducal di là da' monti;
" Se ben tua bella mano freno torſe,
" Al paeſe gentil che Appenin ſende,
" E l'alpe e il mar difende:
" Nè tanto val, che a queſto pregio monti,
" Che'l ſacro onor de l'erudite fronti,
" Quel Toſco e'n terra e'n cielo amato LAURO,
" Socer ti fu, le cui mediche fronde
" Speſſo a le piaghe, donde
" Italia morì poi, furo riſtauro:
" Che fece all' Indo e al Mauro,
" Sentir l'odor de' ſuoi rami ſoavi;
" Onde pendean le chiavi
" Che tenean chiuſo il tempio delle guerre,
" Che poi fu aperto, E NON E PIU CHI'L SERRE."

of that higher degree of reputation which he might have acquired in a longer life. His ſtatue, ſeated, and in a Roman military habit, may be conſidered rather as characteriſtic of his office, as general of the church, than of his exploits. The figures which recline on each ſide of the ſarcophagus, and are intended to repreſent day and night, have been the admiration of ſucceeding artiſts; but their allegorical purport may admit of a latitude of interpretation. Had the conqueſts of Giuliano rivalled thoſe of Alexander the Great, we might have conjectured, with Vaſari, that the artiſt meant to expreſs the extent of his glory, limited only by the confines of the earth (*a*); but the hyperbole would be too extravagant; and the judicious ſpectator will perhaps rather regard them as emblematical of the conſtant change of ſublunary affairs, and the brevity of human life.

By his wife Filiberta of Savoy, Giuliano de' Medici left no children; but, before his marriage, he had a natural ſon, who became an acknowledged branch of the family of the Medici, and, like the reſt of his kindred, acquired, within the limits of a ſhort life, a conſiderable ſhare of reputation. This was the celebrated Ippolito de' Medici, who, dignified with the rank of cardinal, and poſſeſſed, by the partiality of Clement VII. of an immenſe revenue, was at once the patron, the companion, and the rival of all the poets, the muſicians, and the wits of his time. Without territories, and without ſubjects, Ippolito maintained at Bologna a court far more ſplendid

(*a*) *Vaſari, vita di M. A. Buonarroti.*

than that of any Italian potentate. His aſſociates and attendants, all of whom could boaſt of ſome peculiar merit or diſtinction which had entitled them to his notice, generally formed a body of about three hundred perſons. Shocked at his profuſion, which only the revenues of the church were competent to ſupply, Clement VII. is ſaid to have engaged the *maeſtro di caſa* of Ippolito to remonſtrate with him on his conduct, and to requeſt that he would diſmiſs ſome of his attendants as unneceſſary to him. "No," replied Ippolito, "I do not retain "them in my court becauſe I have occaſion for "their ſervices, but becauſe they have occaſion for "mine (*a*)." His tranſlation of the ſecond book of the Æneid into Italian blank verſe is conſidered as one of the happieſt efforts of the language, and has frequently been reprinted (*b*). Amongſt the collections of Italian poetry may alſo be found ſome pieces of his own compoſition, which do credit to his talents (*c*).

(*a*) *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. v.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 23.

(*b*) The firſt edition is that of Rome, *apud Antonium Bladum*, 1538, without the name of the author, who, at the foot of his dedication to a lady, whom he deſignates only by the appellation of *Illuſtriſſima Signora*, aſſumes the title of *Il cavaliero Errante*. The ſecond edition, now before me, is entitled, IL SECONDO DI VERGILIO *in lingua volgare volto da* HIPPOLITO DE' MEDICI *cardinale*. At the cloſe we read, *In citta di Caſtello per Antonio Mazochi Cremoneſe, & Nicolo de Guccii da Corna, ad inſtantia di M. Giovan Gallo, Dottor de leggi da Caſtello nel giorno* 20 *de Luglio* 1539. Several ſubſequent editions have appeared, as well ſeparately, as united with the other books of the Æneid, tranſlated by different perſons.

(*c*) Some of them are cited by Creſcimbeni, *della volgar poeſia, lib.* ii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 368.

On the voluntary reſignation of Giuliano de Medici of the direction of the Florentine ſtate, that important truſt had been confided by Leo X. to his nephew Lorenzo, who, with the aſſiſtance of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, directed the helm of government according to the will of the pope; but the honor of holding the chief rank in the republic, although it had gratified the juſt ambition of his illuſtrious grandfather, was inadequate to the pretenſions of Lorenzo; and the family of Rovere, after a vigorous defence, in which Lorenzo received a wound which had nearly proved mortal, was obliged to relinquiſh to him the ſovereignty of Urbino, of which he received from the pope the ducal inveſtiture in the year 1516 (*a*). After the death of his uncle Giuliano, he was appointed captain general of the papal troops, but his reputation for military ſkill ſcarcely ſtands higher than that of his predeceſſor. In the year 1518, he married Magdeleine de Boulogne, of the royal houſe of France, and the ſole fruit of this union was Catherine de' Medici, afterwards the queen of Henry II. (*b*). The birth of the daughter coſt the mother her life, and Lorenzo ſurvived her only a few days, having, if we may credit Ammirato, fallen a victim to that loathſome diſorder, the peculiar ſcourge of licentiouſneſs, which had then recently commenced its ravages in

(*a*) *Nerli, Comment. lib.* vi. *p.* 130.

(*b*) Si, comme les poëtes l'ont dit, l'ancienne Hecube, avant de mettre Paris au monde, était troublée par des ſonges effrayans; quels noirs fantômes devaient agiter les nuits de Magdeleine de la Tour, enceinte de Catherine de Medicis? *Tenh. Mém. Gén. liv.* xx. *p.* 5.

Europe (*a*). His tomb, of the ſculpture of Michelagnolo, is found amongſt the ſplendid monuments

(*a*) *Ammir. Iſt. Fior. lib.* xxix. *v.* ii. *p.* 335. This diſorder, which was firſt known in Italy about the year 1495, was not in its commencement ſuppoſed to be the reſult of ſexual intercourſe, but was attributed to the impure ſtate of the air, to the ſimple touch or breath of a diſordered perſon, or even to the uſe of an infected knife. Hence for a conſiderable time no diſcredit attached to the patient; and the authors of that period attribute without heſitation the death of many eminent perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular, to this complaint. In the Laurentian Library (*Plut.* lxxii. *cod.* 38.) is a MS. entitled *Saphati Phyſici de morbo Gallico liber*, dedicated by the author Giuliano Tanio, of Prato, to Leo. X. in which he thus adverts to a learned profeſſor who was probably one of the firſt victims of this diſeaſe: "Nos anno "MCCCCXCV. extrema æſtate, egregium utriuſque juris doctorem Domi- "num Philippum Decium, Papienſem, in Florentino Gymnaſio Prati, "Piſis tunc rebellibus, publice legentem, hac labe affectum ipſi con- "ſpeximus." From the ſame author we learn that the diſorder was ſuppoſed to have originated in a long continuance of hot and moiſt weather, which occurred in the ſame year: "Ex magna pluvia ſimilis "labes apparuit, ex quibus arguunt hunc noſtræ ætatis morbum exſimili "cauſa ortum eſſe, ex calida ſcilicet, humidaque intemperie, quia ex "pluvia ſcilicet anni MCCCCLXXXXV. nonis Decembris emiſſa, qua "Roma facta eſt navigabilis, ac tota fere Italia inundationes paſſa eſt." &c. Theſe authorities are greatly ſtrengthened by that of the illuſtrious Fracaſtoro, who was not only the beſt Latin poet, but the moſt eminent phyſician of his age, and who, in his *Syphilis*, accounts for the diſorder from ſimilar cauſes. After adverting to the opinion that it had been brought into Europe from the weſtern world, then lately diſcovered, he adds,

"At vero, ſi rite fidem obſervata merentur
"Non ita cenſendum: nec certe credere par eſt
"Eſſe peregrinam nobis, tranſque æquora vectam
"Contagem: quoniam in primis oſtendere multos
"Poſſumus, attactu qui nullius, hanc tamen ipſam
"Sponte ſua ſenſere luem, primique tulere.
"Præterea, & tantum terrarum tempore parvo,
"Contages non una ſimul potuiſſet obire."

of his family in the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence. He appears ſeated, in the attitude of deep meditation. At his feet recline two emblematical figures, the rivals of thoſe which adorn the tomb of Giuliano,

It is remarkable alſo, that throughout the whole poem he has not conſidered this diſeaſe as the peculiar reſult of licentious intercourſe, on which account it is perfectly unexceptionable in point of decorum. Even the ſhepherd *Syphilus*, introduced as an inſtance of its effects, is repreſented as having derived it from the reſentment, not of Venus, but of Phœbus, excited by the adoration paid by the ſhepherds to Alcithous, and the neglect of his own altars; or, in other words, to the too fervid ſtate of the atmoſphere. Had the diſorder in its origin been accompanied by the idea of diſgrace or criminality, which attends it in modern times, the author of this poem would ſcarcely have denominated it,

" Infanda lues, quam noſtra videtis
" Corpora depaſci, quam nulli aut denique pauci
" Vitamus."

The poem of Fracaſtoro was firſt published in the year 1530; but an Italian poem on the ſame ſubject, by Niccolo Campana of Siena, was printed at that place in 1519, and again at Venice in 1537, entitled *Lamento di quel Tribulato di Straſcino Campana Seneſe ſopra el male incognito el quale tratta de la patientia & impatientia.* The ſtyle of this poem is extremely groſs and ludicrous; and the author in the ſuppoſed exceſs of his ſufferings, indulges himſelf in the moſt extravagant and profane ideas, as to the nature and origin of the complaint. At one time he ſuppoſes it to be the ſame diſorder as that which God permitted Satan to inflict upon Job:

" Allor Sathan con tal mal pien di vitio,
" Diede a Jobbe amariſſimo ſupplitio."

Again he aſſerts it to be the complaint of Simon the leper:

" Quando Criſto guarì Simon lebbroſo,
" Era di queſto mal peſſimo iniquo."

But on no occaſion does he aſcribe the riſe of the diſorder to the cauſe which, from the nature of his poem, might have been expected. I ſhall only obſerve, that the uſe of the grand mineral ſpecific is expreſſly pointed out, in both theſe poems, as the only certain remedy.

and which are intended to repreſent morning and evening. Arioſto has alſo celebrated his memory in ſome of his moſt beautiful verſes (*a*). Like the Egyptians, who embalm a putrid carcaſe with the richeſt odors, the artiſt and the poet too often laviſh their divine incenſe on the moſt undeſerving of mankind.

Prior to his marriage with Magdeleine of Boulogne, the duke of Urbino had an illegitimate ſon, named Aleſſandro, in whoſe perſon was conſummated the deſtruction of the liberties of Florence. It was commonly ſuppoſed that Aleſſandro was the offspring of the duke by an African ſlave, at the time when he, with the reſt of the family, were reſtored to Florence; and this opinion received confirmation from his thick lips, criſped hair, and dark complexion. But it is yet more probable that he was the ſon of Clement VII. Such at leaſt was the information given to the hiſtorian Ammirato by the grand duke Coſmo I. at the time when he read to him the memoirs which he had prepared reſpecting his family; and the predilection of the pontiff for this equivocal deſcendant of the houſe of Medici adds probability to the report (*b*). But whatever was his origin, the circumſtances of the times, and the ambition of thoſe who protected his infancy, equally

(*a*) Such at leaſt I conjecture to be the purport of his poem, which commences,

" Nella ſtagion che'l bel tempo rimena,
" Di mia man poſi un ramuſcel di Lauro."

Rime dell' Arioſto, p. 25. *ap. Giolito,* 1557.

(*b*) *Ammir. Iſt. Fior. lib.* xxx. *v.* iii. *p.* 335.

diſpenſed with the diſadvantages of his birth, and his want of inherent merit. On failure of the legitimate branch of Coſmo de' Medici, uſually ſtyled the father of his country, derived through Lorenzo the Magnificent, Aleſſandro and Ippolito became neceſſary implements in the hands of Clement VII. to prevent the credit and authority of the family from paſſing to the collateral branch derived from Lorenzo the brother of Coſmo, which had gradually riſen to great diſtinction in the ſtate, and of which it will now be neceſſary to give a brief account.

Pierfranceſco de' Medici, the ſon of the elder Lorenzo, to whom we have before had occaſion to advert (*a*), died in the year 1459, having bequeathed his immenſe poſſeſſions, obtained from his ſhare in the profits acquired by the extenſive traffic of the family, to his two ſons, Lorenzo and Giovanni. Following the example of their father, and emulous rather of wealth than of honors, the ſons of Pierfranceſco had for ſeveral years confined themſelves to the limits of a private condition, although they had occaſionally filled the chief offices of the republic, in common with other reſpectable citizens. On the expulſion of Piero, the ſon of Lorenzo the Magnificent, from Florence, in the year 1494, they endeavoured to avail themſelves of his miſconduct, and of the importance which they had gradually acquired, to aſpire to the chief direction of the republic, and diveſting themſelves of the invidious name of Medici, aſſumed that of *Popolani.* The reſtoration of the deſcendants of Lorenzo the

(*a*) *v. ante, vol.* I. *p.* 138.

Magnificent to Florence, the elevation of his ſecond ſon to the pontificate, and the ſeries of proſperity enjoyed by the family under his auſpices, and under thoſe of Clement VII. had repreſſed their ambition or fruſtrated their hopes; and Lorenzo and Giovanni, the ſons of Pierfranceſco, paſſed through life in a ſubordinate rank, the former of them leaving at his death a ſon, named Pierfranceſco, and the latter a ſon Giovanni, to inherit their immenſe wealth, and perpetuate the hereditary rivalſhip of the two families (*a*). But whilſt the deſcendants of Coſmo, the father of his country, exiſted only in females, or in a ſpurious offſpring, thoſe of his brother Lorenzo continued in a legitimate ſucceſſion of males, and were invigorated with talents the moſt formidable to their rivals, and the moſt flattering to their own hopes. Adopting from his youth a military life, Giovanni de' Medici became one of the moſt celebrated commanders that Italy had ever produced. By the appellation of captain of the *bande nere*, his name carried terror amongſt his enemies. His courage was of the moſt ferocious kind. Equally inſenſible to pity and to danger, his opponents denominated him *Il gran Diavolo* (*a*). As the fervor of youth ſubſided, the talents of the commander began to

(*a*) Furono i due fratelli richiſſimi—di meglio che centocinquanta mila ſcudi, e poſſedevano di beni ſtabili, fra gli altri la caſa grande di Firenze, il palazzo di Fieſole, di Trebbio, di Caffagiolo, e di Caſtello. *Ald. Manucc. vita di Coſmo, v. i. p.* 72.

(*b*) *Varchi, Storia Fior. lib. ii. p.* 25. *Ed. Leyden.* The mother of Giovanni was Caterina Sforza, the widow of Girolamo Riario, who, after the death of her huſband, had married the elder Giovanni de' Medici, *v. ante, p.* 168.

be developed; but in the midſt of his honors his career was terminated by a cannon ball, in the twenty-eighth year of his age. By his wife Maria Salviati, the offspring of Lucrezia, one of the daughders of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he left a ſon, Coſmo de' Medici, who, after the death of Aleſſandro, obtained the permanent ſovereignty of Tuſcany, and was the firſt who aſſumed the title of Grand Duke.

The younger Pierfranceſco left alſo a ſon, named Lorenzo, who, as well on account of his diminutive perſon, as to diſtinguiſh him from others of his kindred of the ſame name, was uſually denominated *Lorenzino*, and who was deſtined with his own hand to terminate the conteſt between the two families. Though ſmall of ſtature, Lorenzino was active and well proportioned. His complexion was dark, his countenance ſerious: when he ſmiled it ſeemed to be by conſtraint. His mother, who was of the powerful family of Soderini, had carefully attended to his education; and as his capacity was uncommonly quick, he made an early proficiency in polite letters. His elegant comedy entitled *Aridoſio*, ſtill ranks with thoſe works which are ſelected as models of the Italian language (*a*). Enterpriſing, reſtleſs,

(*a*) Creſcimbeni informs us, that this comedy was written by Lorenzino in *verſi volgari*, and printed at Bologna in 1548; and that it is alſo found in proſe, printed at Lucca in the ſame year, and reprinted at Florence in 1595. *Della volgar Poesia, vol.* v. *p.* 141. Creſcimbeni is however miſtaken; the edition of Bologna 1548 is now before me, and is wholly written in proſe. That of Florence, 1595, is enumerated by the academicians *Della Cruſca*, as one of the *Teſti di Lingua*.

fond of commotions, and full of the examples of antiquity, he had addicted himself when young to the society of Filippo Strozzi, who to an ardent love of liberty united an avowed contempt for all the political and religious institutions of his time. The talents and accomplishments of Lorenzino recommended him to Clement VII. under whose countenance he resided for some time at the Roman court; but an extravagant adventure deprived him of the favor of the pope, and compelled him to quit the city. It appeared one morning, that, during the preceding night, the statues in the arch of Constantine, and in other parts of the city, had been broken and defaced, a circumstance which so exasperated the pope, that he issued positive orders that whoever had committed the outrage, except it should appear to be the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, should be immediately hanged (*a*). This exception indeed strongly implies that the cardinal was not free from suspicion; but whoever was the delinquent, Lorenzino bore the whole odium of the affair, and it required all the influence that Ippolito possessed with the pope to rescue his kinsman from the denunciations issued against the offender. Lorenzino gladly took the earliest opportunity of quitting the city, and retreated to his native place, where, transferring his resentment from the dead to the living,

(*a*) It has been suggested to me by very respectable authority that the heads of these statues and bas-rilievos were more probably stolen by Lorenzino for the sake of their beauty. They are even said to be yet extant in the museum at Florence.

he ſoon afterwards acted a principal part in a much more important tranſaction (*a*).

To the energy and activity of Lorenzino, and the courage of Giovanni de' Medici, Clément VII. could only oppoſe the diſſipation and inexperience of Ippolito and Aleſſandro; but the turbulent diſpoſition of the Florentines ſeconded his views, and the premature death of Giovanni, whilſt it expoſed his dominions to the ravages of the German troops, relieved him from his apprehenſions of his moſt dangerous rival (*b*). Having prevailed on the emperor and the king of France to concur in his deſign, he ſeized the opportunity afforded him by the civil diſſenſions of the Florentines, and, in the year 1532, compelled them to place at the head of the government Aleſſandro de' Medici, with the title of *Doge* of the Florentine republic (*c*). The authority of

(*a*) *Varchi, Storia Fior. lib.* xv. *p.* 618.

(*b*) The authority of the ſenator Nerli leaves no room for doubt on this head. "Non poteva quella morte ſeguire in tempo, ch' ella deſſe "più univerſale diſpiacere, nè anco in tempo, che il papa più la "ſtimaſſe, perchè s'ella ſeguiva in altri tempi, che fua Santità non "aveſſe avuto sì urgente pericolo ſopra il capo, non gli arrecava per "avventura diſpiacere alcuno, rimanendo ſicuro, e libero della gelosia "grande, ch' egli aveva del nome ſolamente del Sig. Giovanni, riſpetto "agl' intereſſi, e alla proprietà d'Aleſſandro, e d'Ippolito, i quali de- "ſiderava che fuſſero quelli, che poſſedeſſero lo ſtato, le facultà, e la "grandezza di caſa Medici."

Nerli, Comment. lib. vii. *p.* 145.

(*c*) Aleſſandro is generally ſtyled by the Italian authors the *firſt duke of Florence*, but in this they are not ſtrictly accurate. His title of *duke* was derived from Città, or Cività di Penna, and had been aſſumed by him ſeveral years before he obtained the direction of the Florentine ſtate. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that Aleſſandro did not,

Aleſſandro

Aleſſandro was ſoon afterwards ſtrengthened by his marriage with Margaretta of Auſtria, a natural daughter of the emperor Charles V. The cardinal Ippolito, jealous of his ſucceſs, had attempted to pre-occupy the government; diſappointed in his hopes, and diſguſted with his eccleſiaſtical trappings, which ill ſuited the rapidity of his motions, and the vivacity of his character, he united his efforts with thoſe of Filippo Strozzi, who had married Clarice, the ſiſter of Lorenzo duke of Urbino, to deprive Aleſſandro of his new dignity; but before the arrangement could be made for the meditated attack, Ippolito ſuddenly died of poiſon, adminiſtered to him by one of his domeſtics (*b*), leaving his competitor in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his newly acquired power.

The period however now approached which was to transfer the dominion of Florence from the

as Robertſon conceives, " enjoy the ſame abſolute dominion as his " family have retained to the preſent times," *Hiſt. Cha.* V. *book* v. he being only declared chief or prince of the republic, and his authority being in ſome meaſure counteracted or reſtrained by two councils choſen from the citizens, for life, one of which conſiſted of forty-eight, and the other of two hundred members. *Varchi, Storia Fior. p.* 497. *Nerli, Com. lib.* xi. *p.* 257. 264. Theſe diſtinctions are deſerving of notice, as they ſerve to show the gradual progreſs by which a free country is deprived of its liberties.

(*a*) The perſon who adminiſtered the poiſon was ſaid to be Giovan-Andrea di Borgo San Sepolcro, the ſteward or bailiff of Ippolito, who was ſuppoſed to have effected this treachery at the inſtance of Aleſſandro; and this ſuſpicion received confirmation by his having eſcaped puniſhment, although he confeſſed the crime; and by his having afterwards been received at the court of Aleſſandro at Florence.

Varchi, Storia Fior. p. 566.

deſcendants of Lorenzo the Magnificent, to the kindred ſtock. In the ſecure poſſeſſion of power, Aleſſandro knew no reſtraint. Devoted to the indulgence of an amorous paſſion, he fought its gratification among women of all deſcriptions, married and unmarried, religious and ſecular; inſomuch that neither rank nor virtue could ſecure the favorite object from his licentious rapacity (*a*). The ſpirit

(*a*) Notwithſtanding the diſſolute character of Aleſſandro, it appears that he was poſſeſſed of ſtrong natural ſagacity, and, on ſome occaſions, adminiſtered juſtice not only with impartiality, but with ability. On this head, Ammirato relates an anecdote which is worth repeating: A rich old citizen of Bergamo had lent to one of his countrymen at Florence 400 crowns, which he advanced without any perſon being preſent, and without requiring a written acknowledgment. When the ſtipulated time had elapſed, the creditor required his money—but the borrower, well apprized that no proof could be brought againſt him, poſitively denied that he had ever received it. After many fruitleſs attempts to recover it, the lender was adviſed to reſort to the duke, who would find ſome method of doing him juſtice. Aleſſandro accordingly ordered both the parties before him, and after hearing the aſſertions of the one and the poſitive denial of the other, he turned to the creditor, ſaying, "Is it poſſible then, friend, that you can have lent your money "when no one was preſent?"—"There was no one indeed," replied the creditor, "I counted out the money to him on a poſt."—"Go, "bring the poſt then this inſtant," ſaid the duke, "and I will make it "confeſs the truth." The creditor, though aſtoniſhed on receiving ſuch an order, haſtened to obey, having firſt received a ſecret caution from the duke not to be very ſpeedy in his return. In the mean time the duke employed himſelf in tranſacting the affairs of his other ſuitors, till at length turning again towards the borrower, "This man," ſays he, "ſtays "a long time with his poſt."—"It is ſo heavy, ſir," replied the other, "that he could not yet have brought it." Again Aleſſandro left him, and returning ſome time afterwards, careleſsly exclaimed, "What kind "of men are they that lend their money without evidence—was there "no one preſent but the poſt?"—"No indeed, ſir," replied the knave.

of the Florentines, though ſinking under the yoke of deſpotiſm, began to revolt at this more opprobrious ſpecies of tyranny, and the abſentees and malecontents became daily more numerous and more reſpectable. But whilſt the ſtorm was gathering in a remote quarter, a blow from a kindred hand unexpectedly freed the Florentines from their oppreſſor, and afforded them once more an opportunity of aſſerting that liberty to which their anceſtors had been ſo long devoted. Lorenzino de' Medici was the ſecond Brutus who burſt the bonds of conſanguinity in the expectation of being the deliverer of his country. But the principle of political virtue was now extinct, and it was no longer a ſubject of doubt whether the Florentines ſhould be enſlaved; it only remained to be determined who ſhould be the tyrant. On his return from Rome to Florence, Lorenzino had frequented the court of Aleſſandro, and, by his unwearied aſſiduity and ſingular accompliſhments, had ingratiated himſelf with the duke to ſuch a degree, as to become his chief confidant, and the aſſociate of his licentious amours. But whilſt Lorenzino accompanied him amidſt theſe ſcenes of diſſipation, he had formed the firm reſolution of accompliſhing his deſtruction, and ſought only for a favorable opportunity of effecting his purpoſe. This idea ſeems to have occupied his whole ſoul, and influenced all his conduct. Even in the warmth of familiarity

" The poſt is a good witneſs then," ſaid the duke, " and ſhall make " thee pay the man his money."

Ammir. Stor. Fior. lib. xxxi. *v.* iii. *p.* 434.

which apparently ſubſiſted between them, he could not refrain from adverting to the deſign of which his mind was full, and by jeſts and inſinuations gave earneſt of his intention. Cellini relates, that on his attending the duke Aleſſandro with his portrait executed as a medal, he found him indiſpoſed and reclined on his bed, with Lorenzino as his companion. After boaſting, as was his cuſtom, of the wonders which he could perform in his profeſſion, the artiſt concluded with expreſſing his hopes, that Lorenzino would favor him with a ſubject for an appoſite reverſe. "That is exactly what I am think-" ing of," replied Lorenzino, with great vivacity; " I hope ere long to furniſh ſuch a reverſe as will " be worthy of the duke, and will aſtoniſh the " world (*a*)." The blind confidence of Aleſſandro prevented his ſuſpicions, and he turned on his bed with a contemptuous ſmile at the folly or the arrogance of his relation. But whilſt Lorenzino thus hazarded the deſtruction of his enterpriſe by the levity of his diſcourſe, he prepared for its execution with the moſt ſcrupulous caution (*b*). The duke having ſelected as the object of his paſſion the wife of Lionardo Ginori, then on a public embaſſy at Naples, Lorenzino, to whom ſhe was nearly related, undertook with his uſual aſſiduity to promote the ſuit. Pretending that his repreſentations had been ſucceſsful, he prevailed upon the duke to paſs the

(*a*) *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini, p.* 222.

(*b*) The particulars of this tranſaction are related at great length by Varchi, who had his information from Lorenzino himſelf, after the perpetration of the deed. *Storia Fior. lib.* XV.

night with him at his own houſe, where he promiſed him the completion of his wiſhes. In the mean time he prepared a chamber for his reception; and having engaged as his aſſiſtant a man of deſperate fortunes and character, called Scoroncocolo, waited with impatience for his arrival. At the appointed hour, the duke having left the palace in a maſk, according to his cuſtom when he was engaged in nocturnal adventures, came unobſerved to the houſe of Lorenzino, and was received by him in the fatal chamber. After ſome familiar converſation, Lorenzino left him to repoſe on the bed, with promiſes of a ſpeedy return. On his quitting the chamber, he ſtationed his coadjutor where he might be in readineſs to aſſiſt him, in caſe he ſhould fail in his firſt attempt, and gently opening the door, approached the bed, and inquired from the duke if he was aſleep, at the ſame inſtant paſſing his ſword through his body. On receiving the wound the duke ſprang up and attempted to eſcape at the door; but, on a ſignal given by Lorenzino, he was attacked there by Scoroncocolo, who wounded him deeply in the face. Lorenzino then grappled with the duke, and throwing him on the bed, endeavoured to prevent his cries. In the ſtruggle the duke ſeized the finger of Lorenzino in his mouth, and retained it with ſuch violence, that Scoroncocolo, finding it impoſſible to ſeparate them ſo as to diſpatch the duke without danger of wounding Lorenzino, deliberately took a knife from his pocket, and cut him acroſs the throat. The completion of their purpoſe was however only the commencement of

their difficulties. Scoroncocolo, who probably knew not that the perſon he had aſſaſſinated was the duke, until the tranſaction was over, was ſo terrified as to be wholly unable to judge for himſelf of the meaſures to be adopted for his own ſafety. To the active mind of Lorenzino various expedients preſented themſelves, and he heſitated for ſome time whether he ſhould openly avow the deed, and call upon his countrymen to aſſert their liberties, or ſhould endeavour to make his eſcape to the abſentees, to whom the information which he had to communicate would give new energy, and a fair opportunity of ſucceſs. Of theſe meaſures the laſt ſeemed on many accounts to be the moſt adviſable. Having therefore locked the door of the chamber, in which he left the dead body of the duke, he proceeded ſecretly to Bologna, expecting there to meet with Filippo Strozzi, but finding that he had quitted that place, he followed him to Venice, where he related to him his achievements. Filippo, well acquainted with the eccentricity of his character, refuſed for ſome time to credit his ſtory, till Lorenzino, producing the key of the chamber, and exhibiting his hand which had been mutilated in the conteſt, at length convinced him of its truth. The applauſe beſtowed by Filippo and his adherents on Lorenzino, was in proportion to the incredulity which they had before expreſſed. He was ſaluted as another Brutus, as the deliverer of his country; and Filippo immediately began to aſſemble his adherents, in order to avail himſelf of ſo favorable an opportunity of

reſtoring to the citizens of Florence their ancient rights (*a*).

The Italian hiſtorians have endeavoured to develope the motives that led Lorenzino to the perpetration of this deed, and have ſought for them in the natural malignity of his diſpoſition; as a proof of which he is ſaid to have acknowledged, that during his reſidence at Rome, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhown to him by Clement VII. he often felt a ſtrong inclination to murder him. They have alſo attributed them to a deſire of immortalizing his name by being conſidered as the deliverer of his country; to a principle of revenge for the inſult which he received from the pope, in being baniſhed from Rome, which he meant to repay in the perſon of Aleſſandro, his reputed ſon; and, laſtly, to his enmity to the collateral branch of the Medici family, by which he was excluded from the chief dignity of the ſtate. How far any of theſe conjectures may be well founded, it is not eaſy to determine. Human conduct is often the reſult of impulſes, which, whilſt they ariſe in various directions, determine the mind towards the ſame object, and poſſibly all, or moſt of the cauſes before ſtated, might have concurred in producing ſo ſignal an effect. Aware of the miſconſtruction to which his principles were liable, Lorenzino wrote an apologetical diſcourſe, which

(*a*) On this occaſion a medal was ſtruck, bearing on one ſide the head of Lorenzino, and on the other the cap of liberty between two daggers; being the ſame device as that which had before been adopted by, or applied to, the younger Brutus. *v. Palin. Famil. Rom. p.* 142. This medal is in the collection of the earl of Orford.

has been preſerved to the preſent times, and throws conſiderable light on this ſingular tranſaction. In this piece he firſt attempts to demonſtrate that Aleſſandro was an execrable tyrant, who, during the ſix years that he held the chief authority, had exceeded the enormities of Nero, of Caligula, and of Phalaris. He accuſes him of having occaſioned by poiſon the death, not only of the cardinal Ippolito, but of his own mother, who reſided in an humble ſtation at *Collevecchio*, and whoſe poverty he conceived was a reproach to the dignity of his rank; and denies that the blood of any branch of the Medici family flowed in his veins. He then juſtifies, with great plauſibility, the conduct adopted by him after the death of the duke, in quitting the city to join the abſentees; and after vindicating himſelf from the imputation of having been induced by any other motive than an earneſt deſire to liberate his country from a ſtate of intolerable ſervitude, he concludes with lamenting, that the want of energy and virtue in his fellow-citizens prevented them from availing themſelves of the opportunity which he had afforded them of re-eſtabliſhing their ancient government (*a*). But whatever were the motives of this deed, the conſequences of it were ſuch as have generally been the reſult of ſimilar attempts —the riveting of thoſe chains which it was intended to break. The natural abhorrence of treachery, and the ſentiment of pity excited for the devoted object, counteract the intended purpoſe, and throw an odium even on the cauſe of liberty itſelf. No end

(*a*) For the *Apologia* of Lorenzino, *v. App. No.* LXXXIV.

can juſtify the ſacrifice of a principle, nor was a crime ever neceſſary in the courſe of human affairs. The ſudden burſt of vindictive paſſion may ſometimes operate important changes on the fate of nations, but the event is ſeldom within the limits of human calculation. It is only the calm energy of reaſon, conſtantly bearing up againſt the encroachments of power, that can with certainty perpetuate the freedom, or promote the happineſs of the human race.

After the perpetration of this deed, Lorenzino, not conceiving himſelf in ſafety within the limits of Italy, continued his route till he arrived at Conſtantinople, from whence, after a ſhort reſidence, he returned again to Venice. Having paſſed eleven years of exile and anxiety, he was himſelf aſſaſſinated by two Florentine ſoldiers, who, under the pretext of avenging the death of Aleſſandro, probably ſought to ingratiate themſelves with his ſucceſſor, by removing a perſon who derived from his birth undoubted pretenſions to the credit and authority which had for ages been attached to the chief of the houſe of Medici.

The adherents of the ruling family, at the head of whom was the cardinal Cibò, who had been the chief miniſter of Aleſſandro, conducted themſelves with great prudence on the death of the duke; and before they permitted the event to be made public, not only ſecured the ſoldiery within the city, but ſummoned to their aſſiſtance all their allies in the vicinity of the Florentine ſtate. They then aſſembled the inhabitants, avowedly to deliberate on the ſtate of the republic, but in fact rather to receive than

to dictate a form of government. If Lorenzino was the Brutus of his age, an Octavius was found in his coufin, Cofmo de' Medici, the fon of Giovanni, general of the *bande nere*, and then about eighteen years of age. Being informed of the unexpected difpofition of the citizens in his favor, Cofmo haftened from his feat at Mugello to Florence, where, on the ninth day of January 1536, he was inveſted with the fovereignty by the more modeſt title of chief of the republic. Deſpotiſm generally proceeds with cautious ſteps, and Auguſtus and Cofmo affected the name of citizen, whilſt they governed with abſolute authority.

To the election of Cofmo little oppofition had been made within the city. The propofition of Palias Rucellai, to admit the party of the Strozzi to their deliberations, and that of Giovanni Canigiani, to place the fupreme command in an illegitimate and infant fon of Aleſſandro, had met with few fupporters (*a*). But the numerous exiles, who by compulfion, or in difguſt, had quitted their native country during the government of Aleſſandro, had already begun to convene together from all parts of Italy, in hopes of effecting their reſtoration and of eſtabliſhing a form of government more conſiſtent with their views. The cardinals Ridolfi and

(*a*) Befides an illegitimate fon named Giulio, Aleſſandro left two illegitimate daughters, Porcia and Juliet. The fon entered into the church, and became grand prior of the order of S. Stefano. Porcia took the veil, and founded the convent of S. Clement at Florence. Juliet married Francefco Cantelmo, fon of the duke di Popoli, a Neapolitan nobleman. *Tenh. Mém. Gén. liv.* xxii. *p.* 92.

Salviati, both grandsons of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Bartolomeo Valori, and other citizens of high rank, uniting with Filippo Strozzi, raised a considerable body of troops, and approached towards the city; but more powerful parties had already interposed, and the fate of Florence no longer depended on the virtue or the courage of its inhabitants, but on the will of the emperor, or on the precarious aid of the French. Sensible of the advantages which he had already obtained by holding at his devotion the Florentine state, and that such influence was inconsistent with a republican government, Charles V. openly approved of the election of Cosmo, and directed his troops, then in Italy, to support his cause. The exiles having possessed themselves of the fortress of *Montemurlo*, in the vicinity of Florence, were unexpectedly attacked there by the Florentine troops under the command of Alessandro Vitelli, in the night of the first of August 1538, and their defeat fixed the destiny of their country. Bartolomeo Valori, with his two sons, and Filippo his nephew, were made prisoners, and conducted to Florence, where he, with one of his sons, and his nephew, was decapitated. Many other of the insurgents experienced a similar fate. The rest were consigned to the dungeons in different parts of Tuscany. Filippo Strozzi, the magnanimous assertor of the liberties of his county, languished upwards of twelve months in the prisons of Castello, and his situation became more hopeless in proportion as the authority of Cosmo became more established. After an interval of time which ought to have

obliterated the remembrance of his offence, he was cruelly subjected to torture, under the pretext of discovering the accomplices of his unfortunate enterprise. Finding that the remonstrances of his friends with the emperor and the duke were not only ineffectual, but that the latter had resolved to expose his fortitude to a second trial, he called to his mind the example of Cato of Utica, and fell by his own hand, a devoted victim to the cause of freedom (*a*).

Thus terminated the Florentine republic, which had subsisted amidst the agitations of civil commotions, and the shock of external attacks, for upwards of three centuries, and had produced from its circumscribed territory a greater number of eminent men than any other country in Europe. This singular pre-eminence is chiefly to be attributed to the nature of its government, which called forth the talents of every rank of citizens, and admitted them without distinction to the chief offices of the state. But the splendor which the Florentines derived from examples of public virtue, and efforts of superlative genius, was frequently tarnished by the sanguinary contests of rival parties. The benevolent genius of Lorenzo de' Medici for a time removed this reproach, and combined a state of high intellectual improvement with the tranquillity of well-ordered government. The various pursuits in which he himself engaged appear indeed to have been subservient only

(*a*) The life of Filippo Strozzi was written by his brother Lorenzo, with great candor and impartiality, and is published at the close of the Florentine history of Benedetto Varchi. *Ed. Leyd. sine an.* After the death of Filippo, a paper in his own hand-writing was found in his bosom, which is given in the Appendix, *No.* LXXXV.

to the great purpoſe of humanizing and improving his countrymen. His premature death left the common wealth without a pilot, and after a long ſeries of agitation, the hapleſs wreck became a rich unexpected prize to Coſmo de' Medici. With Coſmo, who afterwards aſſumed the title of grand duke, commences a dynaſty of ſovereigns, which continued in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion until the early part of the preſent century, when the ſceptre of Tuſcany paſſed from the imbecile hands of Gaſton de' Medici, into the ſtronger graſp of the family of Auſtria. During the government of Coſmo, the talents of the Florentines, habituated to great exertions, but ſuddenly debarred from further interference with the direction of the ſtate, ſought out new channels, and diſplayed themſelves in works of genius and of art, which threw a luſtre on the ſovereign, and gave additional credit to the new eſtabliſhment; but as thoſe who were born under the republic retired in the courſe of nature, the energies of the Florentines gradually declined. Under the equalizing hand of deſpotiſm, whilſt the diffuſion of literature was promoted, the exertions of original genius were ſuppreſſed. The numerous and illuſtrious families, whoſe names had for ages been the glory of the republic, the Soderini, the Strozzi, the Ridolfi, the Ruccellai, the Valori, and the Capponi, who had negotiated with monarchs, and operated by their perſonal characters on the politics of Europe, ſunk at once to the uniform level of ſubjects, and became the ſubordinate and domeſtic officers of the ruling family. From this time the hiſtory of

Florence is the hiſtory of the alliances, the negotiations, the virtues, or the vices, of its reigning prince; and even towards theſe the annals of the times furniſh but ſcanty documents. The Florentine hiſtorians, as if unwilling to perpetuate the records of their ſubjugation, have almoſt invariably cloſed their labors with the fall of the republic, and the deſire of information fortunately terminates where the want of it begins.

INDEX.

N. B. *The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.*

A.

Acciajuoli, Agnolo, his letter to Piero de' Medici, i. 85.

——— *Donato*, inſcribes ſeveral of his works to Piero de' Medici, i. 94. his embaſſy to Rome, i. 213. death, i. 222.

Accolti, Benedetto, his hiſtory of the wars between the Chriſtians and the Turks, i. 92.

Agnana, a farm of Lor. de' Medici, ii. 145.

Alberti, Leo Battiſta, his Latin comedy entitled *Philodoxios*, ii. 89. introduced by Landino in his *Diſputationes Camaldulenſes*, i. 108.

Albizi, Rinaldo de', oppoſes Coſmo de' Medici, i. 11. baniſhed, i. 20.

Alexander VI. his elevation to the pontificate, ii. 250.

Ambra, an Italian poem by Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 287.

——— a Latin poem of Politiano, ii. 140.

Ancient authors, their works diſcovered, i. 24.

Ancients and moderns compared, i. 273.

Architecture encouraged by Lor. de' Medici, ii. 219.

Argyropylus, Johannes, inſtructs Lorenzo in the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, i. 75. teaches the Greek language at Florence, ii. 81. his death, ii. 83.

Arts, their progreſs, ii. 177. ſtate of them in the middle ages, ii. 178. revival in Italy, ii. 179. their imperfection, ii. 192. cauſes of their improvement, ii. 194.

Augurelli, Aurelio, a Latin poet, ii. 111.

B.

Baldini, Baccio, an early engraver on copper, ii. 226.

Baldovinetti, excelled in painting portraits, ii. 188.

Baldovini, Lamento di Cecco da Varlunga, i. 302.

Bandini, Bernardo, an accomplice in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 185.

Barbaro, Ermolao, ii. 258.

Beca da Dicomano, ruſtic poem of Luigi Pulci, i. 305.

Beccatelli, Antonio, his *Hermaphroditus*, and other poems, i. 53. ii. 93. 107.

Bembo, Bernardo, i. 221.

——— *Pietro*, ib. verſes to the memory of Politiano, ii. 264.

INDEX.

Bentivoglio, Giovanni, affifts Lor. i. 206. attacks Manfredi, prince of Faenza, ii. 175.

Beoni, a fatirical poem of Lor. de' Medici, i. 297.

Berlinghieri, Francefco, La Geografia, ii. 116.

Beffarion, Cardinal, his difpute with George of Trebifond, i. 55.

Bianchi and *Neri*, i. 4.

Boccaccio, Giovanni, his *Decamerone*, i. 245. Latin writings, ii. 55.

Bologna, battle of, i. 86.

Boffo, Matteo, his character and works, ii. 164.

Braccio, Aleffandro, a Latin poet, ii. 111.

Brunelleschi, Filippo, i. 65.

Bruni, Leonardo, called Leonardo Arerino, his character and writings, i. 21. promotes the cauſe of learning, ii. 57.

Buonaroti, Michelagnolo, ſtudies in the gardens of S. Marco, ii. 205. reſides with Lorenzo, ii. 208. advantages over his predeceſſors, ii. 210. his ſculptures, ii. 211. great improvement of taſte introduced by him, ii. 212. unjuſtly cenſured, ii. 214.

——— *Michelagnolo*, the younger, his ruſtic comedy entitled *La Tancia*, i. 305.

Burchiello, his writings, i. 247.

C.

Caffagiolo, deſcription of, ii. 144.

Calabria, duke of, defeats the Florentines, i. 223. defeated by Roberto Malateſta, ii. 13.

Calphurnius, his writings diſcovered in England, i. 30.

Cantalicio, a modern Latin poet, ii. 111.

Canti Carnaſcialeſchi, i. 312.

Careggi, deſcription of, ii. 142.

Caſtagna, Andrea da, paints the portraits of the Pazzi conſpirators, i. 212. introduces the practice of painting in oil, ii. 189.

Cennini, Bernardo, the firſt Florentine printer, ii. 65.

Chalcondyles, Demetrius, teaches the Greek language at Florence, ii. 84. ſtory of his quarrel with Politiano refuted, ii. 85.

Chryſoloras, Emanuel, i. 21. the modern father of claſſical learning, ii. 58.

Cibo, Giambattiſta, *v.* Innocent VIII.

Cibò Franceſco. marries Madalena, daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 157.

Cicero, ſeveral of his writings diſcovered by Poggio, i. 28.

Ciriffo Calvaneo, heroic poem of Luca, Pulci, i. 251.

Clarice, wife of Lorenzo, i. 121. ii. 126. quarrels with Politiano, ii. 130. her death, ii. 166.

Claſſical learning, progreſs of, in Italy, ii. 52. 102.

Claſſic authors diſcovered, i. 24. early editions of, ii. 65.

Collectiones Coſmianæ, i. 52.

Colonna, Otto, Martin V. elected pope, i. 11.

Columella, his works diſcovered, i. 28.

Conſtantinople, capture of, i. 45.

Contucci, Andrea, an eminent painter, ii. 218.

Corniuoli, Giovanni della, a celebrated engraver on gems, ii. 230.

Coſſa, Balthazar John XXIII.

Council of Florence in 1438, i. 35.

Cremona, congreſs of, ii. 16.

Creſcumbeni, his character of the poetry of Lorenzo, i. 320.

Dante,

D.

Dante, his *Inferno*, i. 243. character of his ſonnets, i. 280. his Latin writings, ii. 53.
Denmark, king of, at Florence, i. 163.
Domenico de' Camei, an engraver on gems, ii. 231.
Donatello, favored by Coſ. de' Medici, i. 64. his works in ſculpture, ii. 192.
Donato, Lucrezia, miſtreſs of Lor. i. 119.
Drama, Italian, its riſe, i. 306.
——— muſical, its origin, i. 311.
Driadeo d'Amore, paſtoral romance of Luca Pulci, i. 252.

E.

Engraving on copper, invention of, ii. 225. on gems, revival of, ii. 228.
Eſte. Borſo d', marquis of Ferrara, i. 130.
——— *Ercole d'*, duke of Ferrara, aſſiſts Lorenzo, i. 207. is ſuccoured by Lorenzo, ii. 11.

F.

Federigo of Aragon, his interview with Lorenzo at Piſa, i. 76. Lorenzo addreſſes his poems to him, i. 259.
Ferdinand, king of Naples, his letter to Lorenzo, i. 84. declines the propoſed marriage between his daughter and the dauphin of France, i. 161. leagues with the pope againſt the Florentines, i. 216. is viſited by Lorenzo at Naples, i. 224. concludes a peace with him, i. 233. threatened by the pope, ii. 23. defended by Lorenzo, ii. 26. reconciled to the pope, ii. 29. his cruelty and perfidy, ii. 37.
Ferrara, its government, i. 131.
——— duke of, attacked by the Venetians and the pope, ii. 10. defended by Lorenzo, ii. 11.
Ficino, Marſilio, educated in the Platonic philoſophy, i. 37. inſtructs Lorenzo, i. 75. his abſtract of the doctrines of Plato, i. 166. introduced by Lorenzo in his *Altercazione*, *ib.*
Fidelis, Caſſandra, her extraordinary accompliſhments, ii. 100.
Fieſole, its ſituation, i. 1. deſtroyed, i. 3.
Filelfo, Franceſco, his character, i. 32. reſearches after ancient manuſcripts, i. 34. diſſenſions with Poggio, i. 58.
Florence, its origin, i. 1. government, i. 3. council of, i. 35. its ſtate at the death of Piero de' Medici, i. 130. review of its government, ii. 40. regulations introduced by Lorenzo, ii. 43. its proſperity, ii. 44. extinction of the republic, ii. 314.
Florentine ſecretaries, eminent ſcholars, ii. 88.
Folengi, Niccolo, a Latin poet, ii. 111.
Franco, Matteo, his ſonnets, i. 256.
Freſcobaldi, conſpiracy of, ii. 7.

G.

Genazano, Mariano, a diſtinguiſhed preacher, ii. 160.
Gentile d Urbino, biſhop of Arezzo, inſtructs Lorenzo, i. 73. ode addreſſed to him by Politiano, i. 208. ſummons a convention at Florence againſt Sixtus IV. i. 215.
George of Trebiſond, his diſpute with cardinal Beſſarion, i. 55.

INDEX.

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, his works in ſculpture, i. 66. ii. 191.

Gioſtra of Lorenzo and Giuliano, i. 94.

Giotto, character of his paintings, ii. 180.

Grannacci, Franceſco, a fellow-ſtudent of Michelagnolo, ii. 206. his talents, ii. 217.

Greek academy inſtituted at Florence, ii. 80.

Grocin, William, a ſtudent at Florence, ii. 87.

Groſſo, Niccolo, called *Il Caparra*, his works in iron, ii. 219.

Guarino Veroneſe, an eminent ſcholar, i. 22. ii. 57. his reſearches after the remains of ancient authors, i. 30.

Guelphs and Ghibelines. i. 4.

H.

Hawking, poem on, by Lor. de' Med. i. 288.

Hermaphroditus, a licentious work of Beccatelli, i. 53.

I.

Innocent VIII. his election to the pontificate, and character, ii. 19. Lorenzo gains his confidence, ii. *ib.* he prepares to attack the king of Naples, ii. 23. oppoſed by Lorenzo, ii. 25. is reconciled to the king, ii. 29. threatens him with freſh hoſtilities, ii. 38. pacified by Lorenzo, ii. 40. his death, ii. 250.

Iſabel'a of Aragon, her nuptials with Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, ii. 158. anecdote reſpecting her, ii. 159.

Italian language, its degradation, i. 245. revivors of it in the XV. century, i. 247.

Italy, its political ſtate, i. 125. ii. 3. general tranquillity of, ii. 49. invaded by the French, ii. 251.

L.

Landino, Chriſtoforo, inſtructs Lor. i. 74. his character, i. 91. *Diſputationes Camaldulenſes*, i. 106. ii. 66. his poetry, ii. 107. his commentary on Dante, ii. 55. his edition of Horace, ii. 67.

Laudi of Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 292.

Leo X. *v.* Giovanni de' Medici. age of, ii. 287.

Library of S. George at Venice founded by Coſmo de' Medici, i. 18. Laurentian, eſtabliſhed, i. 38. its progreſs, ii. 61. plundered by the French, ii. 256. reſtored, ii. 288. of S. Marco at Florence founded by Niccolo Niccoli, i. 40. of the Vatican, founded by Nicholas V. i. 42.

Linacer, Thomas, ſtudies the Greek tongue at Florence, ii. 87.

Lippi, Filippo, the elder, favored by Coſmo de' Medici, i. 66. monument erected to him by Lorenzo, ii. 186.

——— the younger, his paintings, ii. 189.

Livy, reſearches after his writings, i. 29.

Louis XI. of France, negotiates for the marriage of the dauphin with a daughter of the king of Naples, i. 158. adviſes Lorenzo not to attend the congreſs of Cremona, ii. 16.

Lucretius, diſcovery of his works, i. 28.

M.

Madalena, daughter of Lorenzo, marries Franceſco Cibo, ii. 157.

Maffei, Antonio, an accomplice in the Pazzi conſpiracy, i. 185.

INDEX.

Maffei, *Raffaello*, kindneſs of Lorenzo to him, i. 211.

Mahomet II. captures Conſtantinople, i. 45. captures the iſland of Negropont, i. 136. captures Otranto, i. 237. his death, ii. 9.

Malateſta, *Roberto*, commands the Florentine troops, i. 222. engages in the ſervice of the pope, ii. 12. his death, ii. 14.

Manetti, *Giannozzo*, i. 22. ſtudies perſpective, ii. 185.

Manfredi, *Galeotto*, his tragical death, ii. 174.

Mantegna, *Andrea*, his engravings, ii. 226.

Maſaccio, favoured by Coſmo de' Medici, i. 65.

Maximis, *Carolus de*, his poem on the reſtoration of the academy at Piſa, ii. 111.

Medici family, antiquity of, i. 7. nature of their influence in Florence, i. 13. ſources of their wealth, i. 137. their commercial concerns, i. 138. other ſources of their revenue, i. 140. expelled from Florence, ii. 253. their adherents decapitated, ii. 272. reſtored to Florence, ii. 281.

——— *Aleſſandro de'*, natural ſon of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, ii. 299. aſſumes the ſovereignty of Florence, ii. 304. aſſaſſinated by Lorenzino de' Medici, ii. 306.

——— *Coſmo de'*, *Pater Patriæ*, i. 10. aſſiſts Balthaz. Coſſa, John XXIII. i. 11. is banished to Padua, i. 15. is allowed to reſide at Venice, i. 18. founds the library of S. George at Venice, *ib.* recalled from banishment, i. 20. encourages men of learning, *ib.* founds the Laurentian Library, i. 38. applies himſelf to ſtudy, i. 47. his celebrity, i. 51. his death and character, i. 60. encourages the arts, i. 63. his collection of antiques, ii. 202. his repartees, i. 67. his great proſperity, i. 68.

Medici, *Coſmo de'*, firſt grand duke, ii. 313.

——— *Giovanni de'*, an anceſtor of Lorenzo, reinforces the fortreſs of Scarperia, i. 8.

——— furnamed *de' Bicci*, father of Coſmo *Pater Patriæ*, i. 9. his laſt advice to his two ſons, *ib.* ſon of Coſmo, his death, i. 50.

——— Leo X. ſecond ſon of Lorenzo, born, ii. 126. his character, ii. 134. raiſed to the dignity of cardinal, ii. 147. letter to him from Lorenzo on his promotion, ii. 149. letter from him to his brother Piero, on the death of their father, ii. 249. his conduct in his exile, ii. 279. his election to the pontificate, ii. 282. promotes his relations, ii. 283. reſtores his dominions to peace, ii. 284.

——— ſon of Pierfranceſco, aſſumes the name of *Popolani*, ii. 300.

——— captain of the *Bande nere*, ii. 301.

——— *Giuliano de'*, brother of Lorenzo, born, i. 48. his *gioſtra*, and poem on that ſubject by Politiano, i. 91. his character, i. 134. aſſaſſinated in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 188. his obſequies, i. 199. perſonal accompliſhments, i. 200.

——— duke of Nemours, third ſon of Lorenzo, born, ii. 126. his character, ii. 290. his death, ii. 283.

——— *Giulio de'*, Clement VII. born, i. 201. follows the fortunes of the cardinal Giovanni, ii. 281. obtains the pontificate, and erects a building for the Laurentian Library, ii. 290.

INDEX.

Medici, Ippolito de', natural son of Giuliano, duke of Nemours, ii. 294. his death, ii. 305.

——— *Lorenzo de'*, brother of Cosmo, i. 932. collects remains of antiquity, ii. 199. LORENZO IL MAGNIFICO, born, i. 48. his early accomplishments, i. 70. his person and character, i. 72. education, i. 73. studies under Landino and Argyropylo, i. 75. his interview with Federigo of Aragon at Pisa, i. 76. visits Rome, *ib.* rescues his father from an attempt on his life, i. 80. defeats the conspiracy of Luca Pitti, i. 83. letter to him from Ferdinand king of Naples, *ib.* his clemency, i. 84. his *giostra*, and poem of Luca Pulci on that subject, i. 94. his description of his mistress, i. 111. sonnets in her praise, i. 117. marries Clarice Orsini, i. 121. his journey to Milan, i. 122. intrusted with the direction of the Florentine state, i. 132. appointed syndic of the republic, i. 137. devotes his leisure to literature, i. 143. his embassy to Sixtus IV. i. 151. suppresses the revolt at Volterra, i. 153. establishes the academy at Pisa, i. 155. negotiates for a marriage between the dauphin and a daughter of the king of Naples, i. 158. his poem entitled *Altercazione*, i. 166. wounded in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, i. 189. conduct after the conspiracy, i. 198. prepares to resist the pope and the king of Naples, i. 205. kindness to the relations of the conspirators, i. 210. danger of his situation, i. 218. sends his family to Pistoia, i. 219. negotiates for peace, i. 220. resolves to visit the king of Naples, i. 224. his letter to the magistrates of Florence, i. 226. embarks at Pisa, i. 230. interview with the king, i. 231. concludes a treaty with him, *ib.* his reception at Florence, i. 235. concludes a peace with the pope, i. 238. his studies, 239. his early writings, i. 259. inquiry into his poetical character, i. 261. his talents for description, i. 262. poetic comparison, i. 264. personification, i. 270. of the passions and affections, i. 272. his talents for the *Prosopopeia*, i. 273. various species of poetry cultivated by him, i. 278. sonnets and lyric pieces, i. 282. *Selve d'amore*, i. 285. *Ambra*, a fable, i. 287. poem on hawking, i. 288. moral pieces, i. 289. sacred poems, i. 292. *I Beoni*, a satire, i. 297. *La Nencia da Barberino*, i. 304. dramatic works, i. 309. *Canti Carnescialeschi*, i. 312. *Canzoni a ballo*, i. 316. character of his poetry by Pico of Mirandula and others, i. 318. celebrated in the *Nutricia* of Politiano, i. 322. he endeavours to secure the peace of Italy, ii. 3. conspiracy against him by Frescobaldi, ii. 7. defends the duke of Ferrara against the pope and Venetians, ii. 10. obtains the confidence of Innocent VIII. ii. 19. joins the army before Pietra Santa, ii. 22. defends the king of Naples against Innocent VIII. ii. 27. reconciles the pope and the king, ii. 29. suppresses the insurrection at Osimo, ii. 31. joins the army, and captures Sarzana, ii. 33. protects the smaller states of Italy, ii. 35. reconciles the pope and the king of Naples a second time, ii. 38. regulates the government of Flo-

rence, ii. 43. his high reputation, ii. 48. his ardor in collecting ancient manuſcripts, ii. 61. eſtabliſhes the Greek academy at Florence, ii. 80. domeſtic character, ii. 119. accuſed of being addicted to licentious amours, ii. 122. vindicated, ii. 124. conduct towards his children, ii. 126. diſcharges his debts, and quits commerce for agriculture, ii. 135. favors learned eccleſiaſtics, ii. 160. encourages the arts, ii. 185. erects a buſt of Giotto, ii. 182. raiſes a monument to Fra Filippo at Spoleto, ii. 187. augments his collection of antique ſculptures, ii. 202. eſtabliſhes a ſchool for the ſtudy of the antique, ii. 204. favors Michelagnolo, ii. 205. other artiſts favored by him, ii. 216. attempts to revive Moſaic, ii. 224. intends to retire from public life, ii. 233. is taken ſick, and removes to Careggi, ii. 235. conduct in his laſt ſickneſs, ii. 236. interview with Pico and Politiano, ii. 238. with Savonarola, ii. 239. his death, ii. 241. his character, *ib.* review of his conduct as a ſtateſman, ii. 243. attachment of the Florentines to him, ii. 244. circumſtances attending his death, ii. 245. teſtimonies of reſpect to his memory, ii. 248. monody on his death by Politiano, ii. 260.

Medici Lorenzo de', duke of Urbino, ii. 296. his death and monument, ii. 297.

——— ſon of Pierfrancesco, called *Lorenzino*, ii. 302. aſſaſſinates the duke Aleſſandro, ii. 306. motives and conſequences of the attempt, ii. 311. is aſſaſſinated at Venice, ii. 313.

Medici, Piero de', ſon of Coſmo, marries Lucretia Tornabuoni, i. 48. his conduct after the death of Coſmo, i. 77. promotes the intereſts of learning, i. 88. his death and character, i. 123.

——— ſon of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, born, ii. 126. his character, ii. 132. viſits pope Innocent VIII. ii. 146. marries Alfonſina Orſini, ii. 155. viſits Milan, ii. 158. expelled from Florence, ii. 254. his death, ii. 276. his character, ii. 277. ſonnet by him, ii. 278.

——— *Salveſtro de'*, i. 8.

——— *Veri de'*, *ib.*

Merula, Giorgio, his controverſy with Politiano, ii. 76.

Michelozzi, Michelozzo, accompanies Coſmo in his baniſhment, i. 18.

Milan, its government, i. 194.

Miſcellanea of Politiano, ii. 75.

Monteſicco, Giambattiſta, an accomplice in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 185.

Morgante Maggiore of Luigi Pulci, i. 253.

Moſaic, attempts to revive it, ii. 224.

Muſeum Florentinum, its origin, ii. 202.

N.

Naldo de Naldis, his Latin poetry, ii. 107.

Naples, its government, i. 123.

Nardi, Bernardo, attacks the town of Prato, i. 135.

Nencia da Barberino, ruſtic poem of Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 304.

Niccoli, Niccolo, a promoter of learning, i. 40. founds the library of S. Marco, i. 41. collects the remains of ancient art, ii. 199.

Nicholas V. founds the Vatican Library, i. 42.

INDEX.

O.

Olgiato, Girolamo, aſſaſſinates the duke of Milan, i. 177.

Orazioni of Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 292.

Orfeo of Politiano, i. 311.

Orſini, Clarice, wife of Lorenzo, *v.* CLARICE.

Otranto, captured by the Turks, ii. 237. retaken by the duke of Calabria, ii. 9.

P.

Paleologus, John, emperor of the eaſt, at Florence, i. 35.

Paul II. his death and character, i. 148. a proſecutor of men of learning, i. 149.

Pazzi, conſpiracy of, i. 180. origin of the attempt, i. 184. the family of, i. 182. reaſons of their enmity to the Medici, i. 183. arrangements for its execution, i. 186. the conſpirators attack the palace, i. 191, repulſed by Cæſare Petrucci, i. 192. memorials of it, i. 202.

Pazzi, Giacopo de', his miſerable death, i. 195.

——— *Guglielmo de'*, banished, i. 196.

Perugia, battle of, i. 223.

Petrarca, his writings, 244. his ſonnets, i. 281. his Latin writings, ii. 54. collects ancient medals, ii. 198.

Petronius, his works diſcovered, i. 30.

Petrucci, Ceſare, defends the palace, i. 191.

Pico, Giovanni, of Mirandula, his character of the poetry of Lorenzo, i. 318. his hiſtory and character, ii. 94. laſt interview with Lorenzo, ii. 238. his death, ii. 259.

Pietra-Santa, captured by the Florentines, ii. 22.

Piſa, its academy eſtabliſhed, i. 155. poem thereon by Carolus de Maximis, ii. 111.

Piſani, Nicolo & Andrea, their works in ſculpture, ii. 191.

Pitti, Luca, his conſpiracy againſt the Medici, i. 79.

Palazzo, its erection and progreſs, i. 82.

Plato, revival of his philoſophy, i. 36.

Platonic academy, its progreſs, i. 164. feſtival, i. 171. effects of this inſtitution, i. 172. number and celebrity of its members, i. 174.

Platus, Platinus of Milan, a Latin poet, ii. 110.

Plautus, his works diſcovered, i. 28.

Pletho, Gemiſthus, i. 36.

Poggio, ſtudies under Chryſoloras, i. 22. diſcovers the writings of many of the ancient authors, i. 27. his quarrel with Filelfo, i. 48. induſtry in collecting antique ſculptures, ii. 199.

——— *Giacopo*, engaged in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 185. his death, i. 193.

——— Cajano, deſcription of, ii. 137.

Politiano, Agnolo, his *Gioſtra* of Giuliano de' Medici, i. 94. 101. his birth and education, i. 143. temper and character, i. 146. his ode to Gentile d'Urbino, i. 208. his muſical drama entitled *Orfeo*, i. 311. his *Nutricia*, i. 322. ode *Ad Horatium Flaccum*, ii. 68. his induſtry as a commentator, ii. 70. authors commented by him, ii. 72. corrects the Pandects of Juſtinian, ii. 73. his *Miſcel-*

lanea, ii. 75. controverſy with Merula, ii. 76. controverſy with Scala, ii. 90. his tranſlation of Herodian, ii. 104. of Homer into Latin hexameter verſe, ii. 105. character of his Latin poetry, ii. 112. accompanies the family of Lorenzo to Piſtoja, ii. 127. his letters to Lucrezia, the mother of Lorenzo, ii. 129. diſſenſions between him and Madonna Clarice, ii. 130. she expels him the houſe, *ib.* he retires to Fieſole, and writes his poem entitled *Ruſticus*, ii. 131. his laſt interview with Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 238. abſurd account reſpecting his death, ii. 259. his monody on Lorenzo, ii. 260. celebrated by cardinal Bembo, ii. 264. authentic account of his death, ii. 266.

Pollajuolo, Antonio, his medal on the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 204. introduces the ſtudy of anatomy, ii. 189.

Printing, invention of, i. 44. introduction in Florence, ii. 64.

Pulci, Bernardo, his writings, i. 249.

——— *Luca*, his *Gioſtra* of Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 94. 99. his other writings, i. 251.

——— *Luigi*, his *Morgante*, i. 253. ſonnets, i. 256. *La Beca da Dicomano*, a ruſtic poem, i. 305.

Q

Quintilian, his works diſcovered, i. 27.

R.

Raimondi, Marc Antonio, his engravings, ii. 227.

Rappreſentazioni antiche, i. 308.

Recuperationes Feſulanæ of Matteo Boſſo, ii. 165.

Reformation, its riſe, ii. 285.

Riario, Piero, his diſſipation, i. 152.

——— *Girolamo*, *ib.* engages in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 180. aſſaſſinated, ii. 168.

——— *Raffaello*, an inſtrument in the Pazzi conſpiracy, i. 180. eſcapes with his life, i. 193. 211.

Rome, its government, i. 128.

Rucellai, Bernardo, marries Nannina ſiſter of Lorenzo, ii. 156.

Ruſtici, Gianfranceſco, an eminent painter, ii. 217.

Ruſticus, a Latin poem of Politiano, ii. 131.

S.

Salviati, Franceſco, archbiſhop of Piſa, engages in the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 184. his death, i. 193.

——— *Averardo*, favored by Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 211.

——— *Giacopo*, marries Lucrezia, daughter of Lorenzo, i. 211. ii. 157.

Salutati, Coluccio, congratulates Demetrius Cydonius on his arrival in Italy, ii. 59.

Sangallo, Giuliano da, an eminent architect, ii. 221.

Sarzana, attacked by the Florentines, ii. 20. captured, ii. 33.

Satire, jocoſe Italian, its riſe, i. 297.

Savonarola, Girolamo, his character, ii. 162. viſits Lorenzo in his laſt ſickneſs, ii. 239. commotions excited by him at Florence, ii. 269. his diſgrace and execution, ii. 273.

Saxus, Pamphilus, his verſes to the memory of Politiano, ii. 268.

Scala, Bartolomeo, draws up a memorial of the conſpiracy of the Pazzi, i. 217. his character, ii. 89. controverſy with Politiano, ii. 90.

Scala, Alessandra, her learning and accomplishments, ii. 98.
Sculpture, progress of, ii. 191. state of amongst the ancient Romans, ii. 195. researches after the works of the ancients in sculpture, ii. 197.
Selve d'amore of Lorenzo de' Med. i. 285.
Sforza, Constantino, general of the Florentines, i. 222.
——— *Galeazzo Maria*, duke of Milan, i. 124. visits Florence, i. 141. assassinated, i. 176.
——— *Galeazzo*, his nuptials with Isabella of Aragon, ii. 158.
——— *Lodovico*, called *Il Moro*, his ambition, i. 178. invites the French into Italy, ii. 251.
Signorelli, Luca, character of his paintings, ii. 190.
Silius Italicus, discovery of his poem, i. 28.
Simonetta, mistress of Giuliano de' Medici, i. 106. her death and funeral, i. 113.
Simoneta, Cecco, opposes the authority of Lodovico Sforza, i. 178. his death, i. 179.
Sixtus IV. succeeds to the pontificate, i. 151. engages in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, i. 180. his extreme violence, i. 212. excommunicates Lorenzo and the magistrates of Florence, i. 213. endeavours to prevail on the Florentines to deliver up Lorenzo, i. 216. his obstinacy, i. 222. perseveres in the war, i. 236. his ambition and rapacity, ii. 13. leagues with the Venetians against the duke of Ferrara, ii. 10. deserts and excommunicates the Venetians, ii. 16. his death and character, ii. 17.
Sonnet, Italian, its origin and defects, i. 278.
Squarcialupi, Antonio, a celebrated musician, ii. 117.
Statius, his works discovered, i. 29.
Strozzi, Filippo, opposes the authority of Cosmo de' Medici first grand duke, ii. 315. his death, ii. 316.
Synod convened at Florence, i. 214. reply to Sixtus IV. *ib.*

T.

Toscanelli, Paolo, erects the Florentine Gnomon, ii. 115.
Traversari, Ambrogio, visits Cosmo de' Medici in his banishment, i. 19. his character, *ib.* studies under Emanuel Chrysoloras, i. 21.

U.

Uccelli, Paolo, studies perspective and foreshortening, ii. 185.
Urbino, Raffaello de', his obligations to Michelagnolo, ii. 213.

V.

Valerius, Flaccus, his works discovered by Poggio, i. 27.
Venice, its government and resources, i. 126.
Verini, Ugolino, his Latin poetry, ii. 108.
——— *Michael*, his accomplishments and early death, ii. 109.
Vicentino, Valerio, an engraver on gems, ii. 231.
Volpaja, Lorenzo de. constructs a time-piece for Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 115.
Volterra, its revolt and saccage, i. 152.

Z.

Zambino of Pistoia, his library, ii. 128.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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